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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

After six-month search

Dumping Ground for War Dead Found

The Israeli army confirmed the existence of a graveyard in the Galilee for prisoners of various nationalities who died in battle in Lebanon or during Israeli detention after a US investigative journalist disclosed the site and its suspected contents to a packed press conference in Jerusalem, July 19. The army denies the plot in Banat Yacoub contains mass graves.

According to reports in *The Jerusalem Post*, a day after the press conference the army cleared the site of weeds and garbage and refenced it. According to the report 44 graves were clearly marked.

Before the renovations the makeshift cemetery near the Jordan River in the nothern Galilee contained dozens of obscured graves some indicated with marked and unmarked metal posts. One plot had a foot protruding from it.

US journalist Tamara Kohns told a packed Jerusalem press conference, July 19, that she first heard rumours of the existence of the site in February, this year, while investigating into the possibility of mass graves in Israel containing the bodies of people killed in Lebanon. She said three eyewitnesses in an undisclosed Galilee village told her that in late July and early August 1982 they saw tractors at the site and shortly thereafter trucks unloading bodies into a mass grave. Villagers have said that during that time six or seven trucks per day unloaded at the cemetery for a period of between a fortnight and 17 days.

Kohns, speaking at a conference called by the International Centre for Lebanese and Palestinian Prisoners, Missing and Disappeared, an organisation based in Paris, described changes in the site since her first visit in March.

On March 1, 1983, Kohns visited the graveyard, north of the Israeli settlement of Rosh Pina, and inside the fenced area saw a yellow sign with black lettering stating: "Graveyard for the Fallen of the Army of the Enemy."

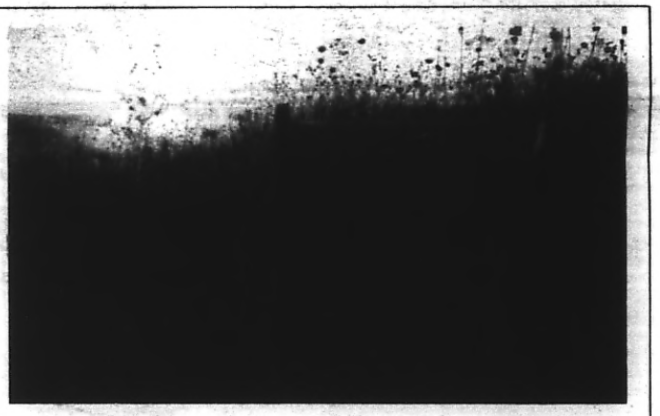
She saw posts scattered around an overgrown area. Most of the posts were of metal, some of rickety branches. Some were marked with blue paint and numbered with the same paint. Some had no sign on them whatever. It was obvious that the growth within the fenced-in area was much sparser than that of the adjacent area, she reports.

On a visit on March 25, 1983, Kohns noted she found a newly dug area within the fenced-in graveyard. The earth had recently been tilled. In this portion there were clear signs of graves; some were marked with a blue patch, some were not. A blanket that appeared to be of army issue stuck out of one of the mounds. The place stank, she said.

From visit to visit she noticed that the fenced-in area was filling up with wild growth similar to the area outside the fence; the signs became partially and then almost totally unnoticeable, and old posts were becoming surrounded.

After various visits in April, Kohns, who came here after researching the problem of missing persons in Lebanon, saw, on May 31, 1983, a new path within the fenced-in area, and that big changes had taken place within it. Up until that day, the area in question had been inclined and filled with wild, tall growth. On May 31, she saw it had been flattened, all the growth uprooted and the land prepared. On July 7, 1983, she found that small tins marked with an Israeli army insignia and used to light up an area at night lined this area. The army spokesman confirmed this area could have been used once or twice for a helicopter landing-site.

Tamara Kohns revealed that on her June 5 visit she found another small cleared area within the fenced-in section with no posts on it and three weeks later she found another newly tilled section with what looked like six new graves.



"CEMETERY FOR ENEMY FALLEN. PAY CAREFUL RESPECT TO THE PLACE AND DO NOT DESECRATE IT. DO NOT STEP ON THE TOMBS. DO NOT PARK CARS IN THE CEMETERY AREA."

Near this section was a stretcher with an IDF insignia and one shovel. Within the area and outside it were strewn surgical gloves, some used and some in their original wrappings. In addition, there was a surgical gown on the ground. Two of the six mounds had tall posts with Israeli army insignia on them and painted red on top. A can of army issue red paint and a brush were just outside the fenced-in area.

On another trip, July 2, Kohns discovered one of the mounds had a second shovel on it and a week later that portions of the fence surrounding the whole area had disappeared.

There were further changes. On July 11, Kohns noticed a white sheet with signs of what appeared to be puss and blood on it. In Hebrew on the sheet were woven the words 'Ministry of Health.' The sheet was sticking out of the top of one of the mounds. The immediate area smelled very bad, she said.

On July 16, she noticed a post thrown on the ground in an area in which she had previously not seen posts. A white plastic bag was sticking out of the ground beside it.

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The site is approximately one dunum and three-quarters surrounded by a two-strand barbed wire fence.

An official Israeli army statement issued after the conference and translated and read to *Al Fajr* and other reporters by the army's Jerusalem spokesman, said there are "two burial sites near the Bnot Yaacov bridge," one for Syrian soldiers who died in the 1967 and 1973 wars and one in which "dead from Operation Peace for Galilee are buried.

"In the latter one approximately 44 bodies are buried from the operation and its aftermath. A 45th body, an Ansar detainee shot while trying to escape, was buried there, June 13 (the most recent body brought) and removed June 19 and transferred to Syria through the mediation of the Red Cross and upon (the deceased's) family's request.

"Out of the 44 dead about 20 are Syrian soldiers and 24 are special cases of detainees/terrorists brought to Israel for the following reasons:

"For post mortem examination as part of an investigation;

"For post mortem of Ansar prisoners brought to Israeli hospitals so the International Committee of the Red Cross can be given an official cause of death;

"Others who apparently died in Peace for Galilee Operation but not positively identified as Syrian or PLO terrorists due to the condition of the body.

"All graves are marked and identified and there is a full list of bodies, and identifications if there are no names, in the hands of the Rabbinical Authorities. Lists of dead are transferred and provided to the ICRC on a regular basis and other international organisations dealing with captives and detainees. Upon the demand of families and through the good offices of the ICRC, bodies are transferred to their country of origin. Due to the circumstances described above the bodies were not buried in the place they fell.

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STOP PRESS

The Israeli army spokesman announced, July 21, that one prisoner was killed and another was wounded after Israeli guards at Ansar detention camp, south Lebanon, opened fire at protesting prisoners.

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Israel Withdrawal Plan

Israeli troops in Lebanon will be pulled south of the Awali River by November if plans approved by the Israeli cabinet, July 20, are implemented.

The withdrawal, an Israeli military spokesman told *Al Fajr*, is expected to reduce Israeli casualties by making lines more defensible, increase control of the south and take Israeli soldiers out of the Shouf mountains. Fewer personnel will be needed to patrol the reduced Israeli-occupied zone.

The approved plan, one of five presented to the cabinet, will put Israel's front line south of the Awali River. The line will stretch up to Jabal Baroukh, overlooking the Beirut-Damascus road, the source said. The east front in the Beqa'a will remain unchanged.

The source predicted that withdrawal will be slow because of the many political and military considerations being taken into account. Israel wants a combination of the Lebanese army and US-arranged multi-national forces in the areas they leave. The international force would deter Syria or the PLO from moving in behind Israel, the source predicted.

South of the new line there will be wider contacts with non-Christian communities, the source said.

In Washington, Lebanese President Amin Gemayel said the Israeli moves would mean *de facto* partition of his country. Foreign Minister Eli Salem said the Lebanese army is ready to move into the Shouf, despite warnings from progressive Druze leader, Walid Jumblatt, that his forces there will fight if there is no political agreement first.

The US is 'awaiting details' before reacting to the Israeli cabinet decision, according to reports from Washington.

Lebanon: Warfare Continues

Lebanese national forces saw action this week against both the Israeli occupation army and the US-equipped and trained army of the Gemayel government.

In a week of daily raids, joint Palestinian-Lebanese forces killed two Israeli soldiers and wounded 14 others. In other incidents, Israeli troops killed two Lebanese civilians and injured six others.

One of the most costly attacks on the Israelis occured on July 15. A military vehicle on patrol near the Israel-Syria front lines in the eastern Beqa'a Valley was hit by a rocket fired from behind Syrian lines. According to an *Agence France Presse* report, two Israeli soldiers were killed instantly, and four others were wounded. Later Syrian and Israeli artillery engaged in fire for 30 minutes.

In another attack on July 17, seven Israeli soldiers were wounded, two of them seriously, when their Armoured Personnel Carrier was ambushed near Ain Anoub, 10 kilometres south-east of Beirut. According to the Israeli military spokesman, the ambushers used rocket propelled grenades and light arms fire. The attackers withdrew from the area before it was closed and combed.

Later, Israeli troops manning a checkpoint in the vicinity shot and killed two Lebanese civilians as they approached in a car.

One day later, three more Israeli soldiers were wounded near the southern entrance to Sidon as a rocket they were inspecting exploded in their hands.

The most serious attack of the week, however, occured on July 20. The Israeli military reported several *katyusha* rockets fell near Hanita settlement, in the Galilee. The rockets, which the same source claimed initially were 120 mm mortar shells, hit a tractor and set light to a field.

Israeli settlers in the north took to their air raid shelters. The incident, the fourth since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon one year ago, gained special significance as it occured despite extensive Israeli army presence and security measures in Lebanon. Israeli officers later accused UNIFIL troops of aiding the fighters who fired the rockets.

Minister without portfolio Ariel Sharon accused the Fijian UNIFIL troops of "collaborating with terrorists."

Fighting in and around the Lebanese capitol erupted, July 15, as the Lebanese army tried to evict south Lebanese refugees from Beirut neighbourhoods. According to foreign correspondents, the Lebanese army sent to evacuate the refugees were prevented from doing so by huge protests. When the army began to use force, they clashed with armed militias. Four soldiers were killed. Three Lebanese civilians were also injured.

The Lebanese army, which is frequently accused by the National Lebanese Movement of being 'sectarian' in its composition, later returned with larger forces and imposed a blockade on the southern Beirut neighbourhood. The now strong Lebanese army, which outnumbered fighters from the Shi'ite Amal movement, entered the area and dispatched patrols in the streets. Later on it was announced that at least 20 Amal fighters were detained and that they are going to be court martialled,

Fighting also resumed in the Shouf mountains, July 14, between fighters from the Progressive Socialist Party and Phalangist troops. News agency reports said that 23 people were killed and dozens wounded as the PSP traded fire with the rightists. According to local analysts, the new escalation of fighting reflected the Phalangist intention to achieve gains before the Israeli army carries out its redeployment plans.

ANSAR HUNGER STRIKE

Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners in Ansar detention camp, in South Lebanon, began a hunger strike, July 14, according to a Radio Moscow report. The prisoners took the decision after a meeting inside the camp to protest the Israeli authorities' harsh treatment. They also demanded their immediate release. The occupation soldiers opened fire on the prisoners, injuring three of them, according to the Soviet report.

Meanwhile, hundreds of Palestinian women, men and children from Ain- al-Hilweh refugee camp, near Sidon, held a week of daily protest demonstrations in the camp, July 9-15, demanding the release of their relatives from Ansar detention camp.

The protest began with the regular Friday trip to the International Committee of the Red Cross offices to claim mail from their relatives inside the Israeli detention camp. Women, children, and elderly people then marched to the camp mosque, in order to call on the imam to join them. On the road, dozens of people joined them and they all marched to the Israeli military headquarters, where they demanded that their relatives be freed. Israeli soldiers and officers ignored their demands, according to reports from the south. (Translation: Al Ittihad.)

POLICE ARSONED

An Israeli police station located across the street from Dheisheh refugee camp was set ablaze for the third time this year, July 15, by unidentified individuals. The two-room cement building, which serves as a daytime police station staffed by two policemen, also serves as an army position used to monitor protest activities in the refugee camp.....

After the incident, Israeli troops and police were stationed 24 hours a day in the police station and on the roof.

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Graves

"Up to two months ago this particular site was subject of dispute between Kibbutz Gadot and the IDF authorities as to whether it is a military zone or belongs to the kibbutz. This explains why the Rabbinical Authorities did not make a permanent site. Two months ago litigation ended and courts said the area belongs to the IDF. This is a military zone.

"Today work is being done to prepare it as an orderly site with rows, identification and markings.

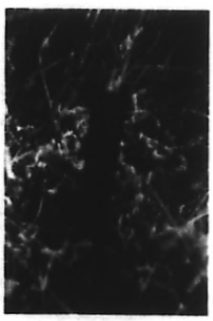
"All the dead are buried there according to the customs and procedures established by the Rabbinical Authorities, IDF procedures and according to Geneva Convention."

Further information on the site was given to *Al Fajr* by a senior Israeli army source. He said that the bodies of Syrian military personnel will only be returned when an agreement is reached with their authorities to exchange all prisoners and fallen.

He reported that one of the graves contains a dead Bangladeshi whose family have asked through the ICRC for the body back, but that the Bangladesh government refuses to foot the bill.

With regard to the question of mass graves, the source revealed that two graves contain more than one body, but that neither he nor the rabbis know exactly how many because they were taken from charred vehicles. He said, "only two or three" vehicles, APC and tanks, were involved and the charred remains of two or three bodies were found inside each. He said even these bodies were on the full list. The source said that fewer soldiers were buried in the 1967 and 1973 section of the graveyard and that there are "42 or 41 marked graves containing about 44 dead" in the new part. He said there were "less than 80 bodies" in the cemetery. The source was speaking to *Al Fajr* before the army marked 44 separate graves on the site.

The source surmised that the foot is coming out of the grave because the site is not permanent and therefore "one could find improper burial." He said he could not explain where the two separate sites were exactly because he had not visited them, but admitted the distinction might not be so clear.



He said bodies were first buried in the section for the latest war graves "immediately after the war," but that he did not know exactly when.

The source noted that the number of burials seen by local villagers "does not square with the bodies."

He announced that work would be done to permanentise the cemetery "and other gravesites in Lebanon." The work will commence "fairly soon" to make a permanent gravesite with more markings. "I believe that it will be set so graves can be identified," he noted.

The source believes there are no similar graveyards in Israel and that the Rabbinical Authorities will decide if more graves can be allocated to that site. No announcement will be made if new sites are opened.

The source insisted that the Geneva Conventions had been respected throughout the operation of the site, pointing out that article 49 of the code says the occupying power should not transfer live persons or prisoners, not bodies. He said another article states you should not transfer bodies, but leaves room for extenuating circumstances.

He said religious dignatories of the faith of the deceased were present at all burials and speculated that perhaps the yard has not been fixed in the past two months because of the need to get religious figures and mechanical equipment to the site.

The source pointed out that the site is now a military area and that permission is needed to enter it. He affirmed permission would be forthcoming to the press in the future.

At the press conference, ICLPPMD member and international law professor Geraud de la Pradelle said 15,000 people have disappeared. Some explanation exists for part of that figure but not thousands, he said. He called for Israeli public pressure to relieve worried Lebanese families concerned about the fate of their loved ones.

Lawyer Lea Tsemel, who represents hundreds of Ansar detainees, said the Geneva Conventions demand "honourable burial" for every dead and that "their graves (should be) respected, properly maintained and marked in such a way that they can always be recognised."

Dr Jad Ne'eman demanded that the government provide "accurate and convincing explanations to the questions we have posed." He said an inquiry commission should be formed if answers are not forthcoming.

All the organisers of the conference said they do not believe there are several thousand graves in the one-dunam plot.

PROTEST VIGIL IN HEBRON

Israeli activists began a four-day protest vigil in Hebron, July 20, to express opposition to Israeli government plans for settlement in the city centre. The protest is scheduled to broaden into large-scale demonstrations, July 23, unless the Israeli government rescinds its plans.

Tzali Rachev, spokesman for Peace Now, one of the two groups participating separately in the protest, told *Al Fajr* that between 30 to 40 people will go to Hebron daily to take part in the protest. The protesters' main activity will be to stand near the central bus station and the produce market, to two areas which settlers have targeted for the settlement.

Simultaneously, a group of five activists from the Israeli Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit University (CSBZU) erected a tent near Hebron military headquarters and began an open protest demanding that the Israeli government forbid Israeli settlers from moving into the city. The CSBZU protesters' tent is located 300 metres away from one erected by Kiryat Arba settlers, who are demanding that settlement in the city be speeded up and tighter measures made against Palestinian residents.

The Israeli settlement protests and counter-protests are taking place as the central bus station and the produce market continue under curfew. Israeli soldiers and settlers are jointly manning checkpoints beyond the barbed-wire barricades closing the routes leading to the two areas. Meanwhile, soldiers and settlers are also manning positions on top of the bus station, which is one of the main goals for the settlers.

Rachef told *Al Fajr* that the movement held a meeting with the Israeli commander of the southern region, Uri Orr, who is in charge of the garrison enforcing the curfew, and with the coordinator of activities at the West Bank military governorate, Binyamin Ben Eliezar, one day before they started their protest, and informed him of their intention. The two army officers told them that only the cabinet can decide on the issue of cancelling plans to settle the area. Rachef, however, said that he had the impression that the bus station is to be turned over to the settlers. He expessed suspicion over the fate of the market, but said that it is much more complicated for the government to settle the many individual Palestinian claims to the market area in order to transfer control.

According to some reports, the bus station is already in the process of being transferred, and Israeli authorities are looking into an alternative site for a bus terminal. The Israeli movement spokesman also said that he thinks local residents can put more obstacles in the process of transference of the two areas by petitioning the High Court.

While expressing doubt that they will stop the construction, the Peace Now spokesman said that they plan to contest the government plan to the end. Other than the all-out protest scheduled for Saturday, the movement has been contacting Labour Alignment Knesset members and coordinating joint parliamentarian action against the scheme.

The latest push in the settlers' and government plan for settling in Hebron began last week following week-long tension in the city, resulting from vigilante settlers' attack on Hebron. Settlers have also exploited the assassination of one settler to push for their demands.

Settlers sprawl outside Hebron bus station./JN

AL FAJR JOURNALIST BANNED FROM WEST BANK

JERUSALEM — The Israeli authorities issued an arbitrary decision, July 20, banning *Al Fajr* (English) journalist Awwad Abd al-Fatah from entering the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Dates on the order state it is valid until January 15, 1984. One section says it was issued in January this year, a second that it is valid from April.

Al Ittihad learned that when the journalist was taken to Moscobiyya detention centre in Jerusalem by police, he was beaten and cursed by investigators. Police officers insulted Abd al-Fatah, threatening him to leave *Al Fajr* and return to his village of Kowkab, in the Galilee. They also threatened they would do all they could to destroy the newspaper and close it.

When Abd al-Fatah objected to the way he was being treated and asked for the name of the officer beating him, he was taken into another interrogation room and beaten by the same policeman.

After a two-hour detention, Abd al-Fatah was handed the banning order and then released.

Awwad Abd al-Fatah filed a complaint the following day, July 21, with the Jerusalem police. (Translation: Al Ittihad, July 21, 1983)

FATHER FINED FOR CHILD'S STONES

COURT RESCINDS DECISION

On July 13 Israeli military authorities rescinded a Ramallah military court decision fining the father of a 13-year-old girl, who was charged with demonstrating and throwing stones several months ago. The military decision came on the day the Israeli High Court was scheduled to hear an appeal against the ruling.

Defence lawyers who took the case to the Israeli High Court said that the military governorate representative presented them with a statement cancelling the Ramallah military court decision. This in effect cancelled the case. The two lawyers requested that the court order the military governorate to pay court expenses, which were to be paid by high court petitioners. As a result, the military governorate was ordered to pay IS5000.

The petition to the Israeli High Court was triggered by an Israeli military court decision in Ramallah, fining Mahmoud Khrousheh IS80,000 for charges levied against his 13-year-old daughter. The father was fined without being present at the court. He was given seven days to pay the fine with an alternate sentence of six months in jail if he did not. The girl's trial was carried out without lawyers or members of her family being present.

In their petition, lawyers Jonathan Kuttab and Avigdor Feldman contested the legality of Military Order 311, which authorises the military court to impose a fine on the legal guardian of a minor for an offence carried out by the minor. Kuttab said that they contested this on the grounds that it is unjust to punish one person for the actions of another. The petitioners also contested the Israeli military court's procedures during the trial of the girl, who is a minor. They stated that the girl was tried without a legal advisor being present.

The defence lawyers also stated that the court in this case was supposed to either appoint a lawyer for her or cross-examine the prosecution witnesses on her behalf. Instead, the court collaborated with the military governorate by giving her a heavy sentence, the defence team alleged.

Commenting on the conclusion, Kuttab stated that the military authorities' decision to back off came because they did not want an examination of the legality of military orders and the operation of the military courts.

The military governorate frequently rescinds military court rulings after appeals. Legal experts say that military authorities want to prevent precedents which could be referred to in similar cases.

Dheisheh Youths Face UNRWA Inaction

A delegation from Dheisheh youth centre was waylaid from meeting with UNRWA's director of operations in the West Bank, Roy Skinner, by local officials of the agency, July 19. Youth club officials accused UNRWA of 'inaction' towards the one and a half year closure of the centre and other more recent measures taken by the Israeli army against the refugee population.

Mohammad al-Atrash, club president, Hassan Abd al-Jawwad, director, Jawdat Manna', spokesman, and Ata Manna', director of social activities, made their complaints to the regional director of social activities of UNRWA, George Tamari, about the inaction of the UN agency towards the problems created by the Israeli authorities. Spokesman Manna' told *Al Fajr* that they raised the issue of current Israeli plans to move Palestinian refugees outside the camps and into permanent settlements. They also demanded that the US agency intervene with the Israeli authorities to reopen the camp's only youth centre.

The delegation also asked Tamari to arrange a meeting for them with the director of operations, Roy Skinner, to convey their complaints. The official told them to arrange the meeting through the UNRWA director in their district, in this case Hebron. According to the delegation, they had requested an appointment through the Hebron director, Abdallah Hamdan, nearly one and a half months earlier, but never received an answer. Tamari, however, insisted that they must "go through proper channels."

Club president, Mohammad al-Atrash, told *Al Fajr* that they believe that UNRWA is trying to avoid meeting them because they are not interested in making any effort to reopen the youth centre.

GAZAN SENTENCED FOR 'MEMBERSHIP'

The Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced a Palestinian resident from Gaza to 25 years imprisonment, July 14. Haidar Ahmad Shrakh, 29, was convicted of membership in one of the PLO organizations and of throwing a hand grenade at an Israeli bus near Ashkelon, on April 30. The incident did not cause any casualties.

Jerusalem lawyer Lea Tsemel, who represented the prisoner in court, said the sentence was very heavy, compared with other cases. She said that the Israeli court justified the high sentence by claiming that they are "continuing the work of the Israeli army in Lebanon."

Last week, the Israeli commander of the southern region told reporters that the Israeli army had abducted hundreds of Gaza residents since the Israeli pullout from Sinai.

Suffering in Exile

GAZA — Ex-political prisoner and Rafah resident Abdel Azziz Shaheen (Abu Ali), who is exiled in the Sinai border village of Dhehneh, is suffering from sharp pains in his legs and spine. Shaheen, who was transferred to the Naser Hospital in Khan Yunis before the *Id al-Fitr* holidays, demanded that a full medical examination be given him.

The *Jerusalem Post* reported July 21 that a number of Israeli kibbutzim have made public statements demanding that the restriction order placed on Shaheen be rescinded.

Shaheen, who was exiled last May to the remote Beduin village after his release from prison after serving a 15-year sentence, cannot leave the village without permission from authorities, must remain at the house designated for him between 5:00 pm and 8:00 am and cannot meet with anyone without the Israeli commander's permission.

One of the eight houses that were destroyed, July 14, as part of an Israeli attempt to open a road in the Shate' camp in the northern part of the Gaza Strip. To date 20 houses have been destroyed, all allegedly because they were built without a licence. House owners say that the houses had been built 5 to 10 years ago. Eight more house owners have been notified that their homes will be destroyed this Sunday, July 24. Residents clashed with the authorities./POP photo

INTIMIDATIONS AT THE JORDAN BORDER CONTINUE

The Jordanian authorities are continuing to enforce rigid travel restrictions on travellers and agricultural products from the West Bank into Jordan.

Jordanian officials at the King Hussein bridge told *Al Fajr* that a royal decree was issued a month ago placing restrictions on travel to and from the West Bank. The Jordanian official said that children whose parents do not have birth certificates issued by parties recognised in Jordan will not be allowed in. The official also said that youths born between 1958 and '66 are also forbidden to enter into Jordan unless they have official documents showing that they are university students. Jordanian authorities are also restricting Palestinian stay in Jordan to a period of one month. Renewing the one month stay is difficult, travellers say.

Among the Palestinians returned to Jordan were Abd al-Hakim and his new wife, Muna, from Sor Bahr in Jerusalem. They were turned back, July 17, at the King Hussein bridge because Abd al-Hakim was born in 1960. The couple had plans to see the bride's parents.

Ali Mohammad Arekat has completed two years at the Amman Community College. He came to visit his family in Abu Dis for *Id al-Fitr* and was returning to Amman in order to take the comprehensive exam which is scheduled for July 25. Jordanian officials turned him back because his Israeli permit issued by the 'civil administration' stipulates that he must stay away from the West Bank at least six months. The Jordanian officials told Ali that he must have the stamp changed from 'six months' to 'one month.'

Ziad Abd al-Karim, from Jericho, heard about this latest twist and after much trouble obtained the requested one month stamp. He planned to go back to Jordan in order to sit for the comprehensive exam. He had graduated after two years at al-Andalus College. After Ziad passed the first Jordanian post, he was turned back from the main crossing point by a Jordaninan officer.

Um Mohammad and her two children were sent back because she had no birth certificates for her four and six-year-olds. "I do not know of this law," she appealed to the Jordanian official. "The last time I came, you allowed me and my children to cross."

"Sorry," said the Jordanian policeman. "These are royal orders that we must enforce completely."

Abu Omar, a 65-year-old man from Beit Fajjar, went to visit his sick brother a month ago. Two days before the expiration of his one-month stay, he went to the Jordaninan interior ministry and demanded a one-month renewal since his brother was still sick. The Jordanian clerk asked for proof. Instead of going all the way up to the northern city of Karak, Abu Omar and his 12-year-old son chose to return to the West Bank, stay for one day and return to Jordan. Abu Omar was very angry with the Jordanian clerk. "If I had said I liked Jordan and wanted to stay there another month, he would probably have given me the extension."

By returning Palestinians (all of whom have valid Jordanian passports, since Jordan still considers the West Bank part of Jordanian territory) the Jordanian government increases the suffering and the financial burden of the Palestinian population.

All returning travellers have to go through the very rigid and time-consuming search which the Israeli government carries out on all Arabs coming across the two Jordanian bridges. Customs taxation, which some days amounts to JD5000, is levied on clothing and jewelry. Fees for obtaining a permit have also risen recently. Travel permits for West Bankers cost IS2500 per adult and IS250 for every additional minor. Jerusalem residents pay smaller fees.

West Bank watermelon growers also complained, July 17, that the Jordanian authorities prematurely stopped trucks carrying watermelons from crossing into Jordan. Growers say that their permit, which was valid until July 30, was revoked as of July 15. Palestinian growers say that the Jordanian move was due to the fact that Jordanian growers' melons ripened earlier than usual and they stopped West Bank imports to protect prices. Growers have selected a committee and have delegated it to go to Jordan and appeal to Jordanian officials to rescind the decision which will bring disastrous results to West Bank farmers.

Attorney Langer Harassed

A prominent Israeli lawyer, Felicia Langer, complained to the Ramallah military governor, July 14, against several Israeli soldiers and policemen who insulted and threatened her during an incident at the military compound.

The lawyer said that she intervened on behalf of two Palestinian youths who were being beaten by Israeli guards. The two youths were waiting to glimpse relatives as they walked from the courtroom back to prison, when soldiers began pushing them out of the military compound courtyard. The youths tried to explain to the soldiers that they were attending the trial of family members, but the soldiers called over other soldiers who began kicking the youths and pushing them outside the yard.

Langer, who happened to be in the court area, intervened to stop the soldiers' actions. They responded by cursing her and making fun of her. "One of them even threatened to beat me up, while he called me a dirty Arab," she said. She threatened to make a complaint to the military governor, but they prevented her from leaving. During the incident the military prosecutor, Major Yair Rabinovich, passed by. She called upon him to intervene, but he refused, saying it was "none of his business."

After she complained to the military governor, he summoned the soldier who had threatened her and questioned him. The soldier denied the charge and accused her of calling him a Nazi. The military governor, according to Langer, promised that he will make sure that such harassment is not repeated.

The lawyer compared the soldiers' action against her and the two Palestinian youths with the stand of other soldiers after the stabbing of an Israeli settler in Hebron. "They refused to evacuate him to a hospital, thinking he was a Palestinian." She noted that all indications show that "fascist behaviour is increasing among the Israeli military."

VAT APPEAL REFUSED BY HIGH COURT

The Israeli High Court refused to hear an appeal by eight Palestinian merchants from Bethlehem and Gaza, July 7, challenging the legality of imposing value added tax on the residents of the occupied territories.

In its response, the court said that Israel considers itself in a state of war and that it has the 'right' to impose taxes on the people under occupation. The judges held as precedent the German occupation of France during World War II to justify the collection of taxes. The four-page review, however, held that the merchants' appeal, based on Jordanian law, which prevailed in the West Bank until the Israeli occupation after 1967, and on international conventions, did have positive elements favouring the merchants' stand.

The court petitioners were encouraged to proceed with the court case by their lawyer, who told them that according to Israeli law one has the right to a second High Court hearing within 15 days of the initial decision. The initial High Court decision of April 10 ruled that the authorities have the authority to collect VAT tax, on condition that it be spent on services benefitting the local population. However, observers point out that since no one is in a position to investigate the expenditures of the military governorate on public services, nor the amount of money collected in taxes, it would be virtually impossible to challenge the way VAT money is spent.

Welcoming Rally for Abna'al-Balad General Secretary

A welcoming rally was held, July 15, in Um al-Fahm's largest cinema hall to greet Abna' al-Balad's newly elected general secretary, Ghassan Fawzi Aghbarriyeh, just released after a one month imprisonment by the Israeli authorities.

Aghbarriyeh was arrested on his return from a three-month European tour, where he spoke at international conferences and meetings with Palestinian and European activists on the Palestinian issue.

The Abna' al-Balad general secretary relayed to the Um al-Fahm crowd the greetings of representatives of the Palestinian people. Ghassan told the crowd that Palestinian officials expressed their strong desire to know all the details of the lives and problems of the Palestinian people living in Israel. He said that there is a great need for portraying a true picture of the Galilee, Triangle and the Naqab to the European and American peoples. while in Europe, Aghbarriyeh said he met with many progressive forces which expressed solidarity with the Palestinian people.

Dr Jad Neeman, lecturer in cinema and television at Tel Aviv University and prominent active member in the Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit and the Committee Against the War in Lebanon, told the Um al-Fahm crowd that the Abna' al-Balad movement is a legitimate political organisation which has the right to participate in international conferences about the Palestinian issue and peace in the Middle East. Neeman also pointed out the importance of Arab and Jewish struggle in the face of the policy of occupation and discrimination which is being carried out by the present Israeli government.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 168, July 22, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to censor.	18
Number of articles totally censored out	2
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	1
Number of articles partially censored but used	4
Number of articles passed	11

The Dawn

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MORE TO COME

Over 15,000 men, women and children – once residents in Lebanon – are missing. At a press conference held at Beit Agron in West Jerusalem, July 19, the first reports were revealed on the fate of some of the thousands who disappeared during the Lebanon war. The existence was made public of at least one area with numerous unmarked graves for Palestinians and other Arab nationals who were secretly buried in July and August 1982.

Tamara Kohns, a US journalist and member of the group who conducted the search for those missing since the beginning of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, said that hundreds of corpses might be found in the one-dunum area which they discovered had been set aside by the Israeli army for the 'enemy' war dead.

During the past 13 months of the invasion, Palestinians have had agonizing questions as to the fate of the thousands who disappeared. A list of 15,000 people was collected by the search group from families and acquaintances of those missing. Bishop Haddad from Tyre had, as of October '82, a list of 11,000 missing, the majority of whom were from the Tyre area. At that same time, the number of prisoners held at Ansar camp was declared by Israeli officials to be 9056.

Between October '82 and July '83, the list of missing and disappeared has grown. If the list is only confined to people officially detained by the Israelis, there is still a discrepancy in the numbers ranging between "2000 to 5000," according to journalist Kohns.

Is it possible to think that what was revealed this week, a gravesite actually witnessed by ten journalists, is only the tip of a tragedy of such horrific proportion that even the state of Israel could be put to international shame?

AL FAJR Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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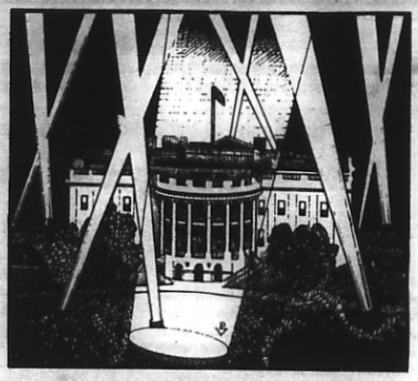

Reagan's Motives: Peace or Presidency?

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington DC Correspondent

The next date to be watched concerning the Middle East in the United States will be the visits of Lebanese President Amin Gemayel, July 22, and Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel, July 27. But following a series of defeats for US foreign policy in the Middle East, there is little hope here that the visits will change or improve things.

Since the signing of the first ever ceasefire between the PLO and Israel in July 1981, events have deteriorated badly – due, observers say, to mishandling and slowness by the US administration. According to Middle East specialists, the invasion of Lebanon last summer was planned a long time before the ceasefire was concluded. The truce concluded by US Special Envoy to the Middle East, Philip Habib, and Israel's interpretation of it left no doubt that an Israeli move into Lebanon was inevitable. All through the terrible and costly war, which many experts are now certain started with US knowledge, the Reagan administration was counting on the PLO and the Syrians to simply give up their objectives and surrender to whatever proposals the US and Israel made. The humiliation of the Arab side, it was thought, was so great as to break even the will to continue. The fact that the expected phone call from Egyptian President Gamal Abd al-Nasser surrendering to Moshe Dayan, the Israeli chief of staff, in 1967 never materialised was not a logical precedent to either US or Israeli policy makers.

The Reagan plan of September 1, last year, was, according to commentators, reflective of this perceived Israeli and American victory and Arab humiliation. The plan off-handedly denied the Palestinians the right to be represented by the PLO and the right to an independent state. Curiously enough, the first to reject the plan was Menachem Begin. The US didn't take his reaction seriously and interpreted it as mere posturing. The demands placed on Israel by the Reagan plan – withdrawal from Lebanon and a freeze on settlement activities in the occupied territories – if they had been acted upon, were intended to provide an incentive for Egypt, Jordan and the West Bank Palestinians to join talks alongside Israel and the US. The Israelis, having rejected the Reagan Plan, now intend to use their stay in Lebanon and accelerated settlement activity to guarantee the death of the president's September 1 initiative. This, of course, is in addition to Israel's "historic and ideological" commitment to stay in the territory, regardless of the US position, and to stay in Lebanon at least until it gets a peace treaty, open borders, free trade and security arrangements with Lebanon.

With the Reagan plan dying, Israel, with the help of Secretary of State Shultz in mid-May, concluded an agreement with Lebanon very much to its liking, but one it could have gotten months earlier. Israeli willingness now to accept the agreement was precisely because of its full confidence that the PLO would not authorise King Hussein of Jordan or any other Arab leader to enter negotiations on behalf of the Palestinian people. Israel thus not only achieved what it wanted but could blame the PLO and the Arabs for the disaster the US and the West see in its demise.

Many predicted the agreement of "withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon" was also destined for failure. Israel, the powerful party, having dragged the whole process very close to the time of the American national elections, was willing to give in to Lebanon and the US enough to be perceived as compromising, but not enough to make all Lebanese and Arabs accept it. In its final form the agreement has been harshly criticised by the Arabs and even American officials admitted serious gaps in it, in addition to genuine Syrian security concerns. The agreement, which the American government insisted all along should restore Lebanese sovereignty, makes Lebanon "a protectorate" of Israel, as put by an American Middle East specialist. Syrian opposition to the plan was also interpreted as mere posturing by American officials, who waited for the government of Hafez al-Assad to cool off and then withdraw its forces from Lebanon.

Once again the American government miscalculated and the agreement became the victim of this miscalculation, and with it possibly the existence of Lebanon as a state. Rather than simply demanding Israel to withdraw from Lebanon, a country it entered and devastated in a long war, and in accordance with UN resolutions and accepted international dictates, Israel insisted on and the US went along with rewarding Israel for its war. The victory the Reagan administration was looking for in foreign affairs didn't materialise and some source other than Israel had to be blamed for it once again.

Reagan's decision to run for a second term dictates certain patterns in the US. Jewish votes are important. Something had to be done, some believe, in order to improve even further Israel's image in the US so as to guarantee the all important Jewish support for Reagan. Secretary Shultz' unexpected and unannounced stop in the Middle East was a puzzle for all those who know the region. The chance for him to succeed in his goals was very slim. Why then did he decide to stop in the Middle East? many asked. It is not very prestigious for a secretary of state to take such a trip, knowing beforehand that the results will be negative.

The answer to this, it is agreed, was to show that the US is seriously trying to bring peace to Lebanon, and when it fails, to place the blame for the failure on the shoulders of the Syrian president. This will open the way for a very warm welcome to Menachem Begin when he arrives in Washington, which is likely to be coupled with more favours to Israel. The ultimate objective is to attract the American Jewish community's favours to Ronald Reagan when he announces his decision to occupy the White House for four more years. Lebanon and the Palestinians will obviously have to take a back seat to other priorities of the US government.

OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles, and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Ben Gurion in the extermination camps

The Ideological Tool

by Thoma Shick

An additional section of the secret diaries of David Ben Gurion was reported on by Dr Meir Avizohar, director of the Centre for Ben Gurion's Heritage at Sdeh Boker, in a study-day in memory of Ehud Avri'el, one of the delegates of the (Jewish) settlement movement in Europe after World War II. Dr Avizohar gave details from the diaries of the state of Israel's founder about his visit to the extermination camps in November 1945, immediately after the war. Ben Gurion intended, said the researcher, to examine the possibility of leaving the survivors in the camps — in improved conditions, of course — until the British opened the gates of Eretz Israel for the immigration of 50,000 a month, instead of the 1500 they permitted at the time.

The high point of Ben Gurion's visit in the extermination camps was his meeting with commander of the Allied forces in Europe Dwight Eisenhower, in which he told the American general that two main things should be done for the survivors: to give them self-rule, to increase self-confidence, and to give them vocational or agricultural training for a future in Eretz Israel. To this end, he thought, the survivors should be concentrated in one place. Eisenhower agreed with Ben Gurion, but the plan to concentrate the survivors faced difficulties and was finally abandoned.

As we know today a lot more about the Jewish holocaust on one hand and about Zionism on the other, perhaps we should not be shocked by such disclosures. But still, one is.

Zionist ideology did not draw much support from the Jewish masses of Europe between the two World Wars. The Jewish population in Palestine grew only little by little before Hitler came into power in Germany. Even when emigration from Germany and Europe started, most of it was directed to America and elsewhere and only a minority to Palestine. According to recent publications, Jewish organisations in Germany collaborated with the new Nazi authorities during the '30s in listing Jewish property, most probably with the hope that a mass emigration might become possible.

Then there came the holocaust, and then liberation. Masses of people emigrated from Europe to Palestine — those whom the Zionists could attract with their ideas or with pragmatic promises. Still, the majority either returned to their homelands in Europe or emigrated to the Americas, to South Africa and Australia.

The abovementioned disclosure of Ben Gurion's satanic plan that failed is only one aspect of the exploitation of the Nazi-caused holocaust of European Jewry. The other aspect was the bringing to Palestine of extermination camp survivors, in order to participate in another war and die in it, in order to cause later the mini-holocaust of the Palestinians. Additionally, the propaganda-use of the memory of the holocaust for collecting financial, social and political aid to the Zionist cause still exists to this day.

Why was the 1945 Ben Gurion plan satanic? Imagine: many thousands of people are liberated from the horrible camps, hungry and miserable, separated from their families, wishing to be rehabilitated, looking for ways to return home, wanting to learn about family-members, relatives, and even neighbours — a turmoil of conditions, emotions and languages. And in the middle of that, the Zionist leader plans for the masses — without asking them for consent, but caring only for 'self-rule' concentrated in one place, so that the Zionists could determine the fate of European Jews without the interference of the Big Powers who divided Europe among themselves — and make the people 'forget' their national and cultural identities.

Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union arrive in Tel Aviv.

Total ignoring of the individuals' will and desire, for the sake of Zionism. Yes, it is only my imagination. Is it? Not totally, because afterwards the Ben Gurion plan was not concentrated in only one place. And what has been happening for the last ten years, for instance, relating to the Jews of the Soviet Union?

To make it clear from the beginning of this 'comparative study', the conditions of the Jews in the Soviet Union is nothing like that of the extermination camp survivors. Soviet Jews are an integral part of the population, for better or for worse. The fact that they wish to leave is taken to be a negative from the Soviet regime's internal point of view. But their standard of living is quite high and equal to that of the general population. It is indisputable that they do not have the right to leave their homeland if they wish to do so or even return to it (Article 13 of the UN Human Rights Charter). In this respect, the Israeli-American claim is totally accurate. And the Soviet authorities' insistence on one only one direction for the emigration — Israel — is inaccurate. But this, on the other hand, plays into the hands of the Zionists, so for the Israeli government it's fine, and if so, it is fine also for the US human-rights-loving-and-seeking government.

But there is an obstacle in the middle of this scenario in the form of the 'self-hating' Austrian (born to a Jewish mother) former Prime Minister Bruno Kreisky, who set the policy of permitting the Jews leaving the USSR to think about their destination, and, fortunately enough, 80 percent of these people choose to go elsewhere. When an international Jewish organisation offered aid to these people — the *Alliance Israelienne* - the Zionists were angry, and tried to impose their view on it. The AI rejected the imposition.

Kreisky was requested to restrict his human rights standpoint only to the right for people to leave the USSR and not when Russian emigrants choose to go further. Israel even requested the USSR authorities to arrange direct Moscow-Tel Aviv flights, so emigrants would not have the possibility to make a choice! It was the USSR that rejected this. It looks like there is a competition between communism and Zionism to prove which restricts human rights more.

No wonder. If Ben Gurion could bring up his plan — and some of it was implemented, though not on the scale envisioned — what happens today is really nothing.

That is the fate of central national ideologies. Their holders, of course, do not care about 'the enemy;' but they often forget the human rights of their own compatriots or comrades. The ideology that originally was composed for the sake of the people becomes a tool to impose itself on them.

ARE THERE MORE GRAVESITES LIKE THIS?

by Hanna Assadi

The Banat Yacoub burial ground is not an easy thing to find — even though it is no more than 50 metres off a main artery leading to the Golan Heights. Like most other visitors would have done, I walked straight past the overgrown sign, stuck into a tangle of weeds some two metres high, announcing "Burial Site of the Enemy Dead." The weeds obscure the 100 metre fence paralleling the dirt track leading down to the Jordan River. This is not the sort of place one expects to find a solemn site — it is strange how on a drive to find dead people one notices the white and black cemetery signs that dot the country.

Off the road, however, one gets the first inkling that this is not some giant hoax. An area approximately 15 metres by two has been cleared — the soil is grey and brown. There are grave-sized mounds of earth at regular intervals. Rubber gloves, some stained red, litter the ground and hang on the fence. An army stretcher, partly covered with animal faeces, is next to the fence. A roll of masking tape and two entrenching tools lie together.

Next to one mound, partly covered with the dry dirt, is a stinking "Ministry of Health" sheet. It is stained, except for its startingly white corners, brown and yellow-green. Two tall iron poles topped in red are the only markings — they are opposite a central grave. Beyond the cleared area the weeds grow tall.

Half the approximately one dunum area is covered with the pernicious undergrowth of barbed thistles and dried

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Help Rafah

TO THE EDITOR;

Rafah city, the southern most border of Palestine, was divided into two parts by the border strip according to the Egypt and Israel 'peace treaty'.

The border strip divides not only the land but also the people. The most significant part of the Palestinians who were behind the Egyptian border were those in Canada Camp — a camp which had direct and distinct relations between it and the rest of Rafah; human relations, economic relations, patriotic relations, educational relations and many, many others.

The people in 'Canada' or in Rafah City are united and connected. If the land was divided was it necessary to divide the people too?

The people of Canada Camp look forward to returning to Rafah, to their brothers, sisters, children and families as soon as possible.

"The peace agreement parties' promises that our people in Canada Camp would return soon are all lies. These people have been waiting for more than one year for an answer.

Please! We are in need of answers.

Raid Zaki Adwan
Ramallah Men's Teacher Training Centre

RAFIQ HALABI:
The National Contradiction

The following article reflects the basically different positions within the Palestinian Druze community in Israel on the subject of national identity. It is a critical article by the (radical) Druze writer Salman Natour, who identifies himself as a Palestinian, about the Druze journalist Rafiq Halabi, who sees himself as, nationally, an Israeli.

Natour takes issue with Halabi's emphasis on his 'Israeli identity,' with which a large sector of the Druze community disagrees.

by Salman Natour

I can't imagine that one day "our reporter from the territories," — Yehuda Litani, Zvi Barel or Dani Rubenstein — would openly announce his intention to write an impressionistic book about the shocking events in the occupied territories and open it with the sentence, "I am an Israeli patriot." Or that they would conclude the book with the statement that his children will be able to say with courage, "We are Israeli patriots." Why did our reporter in the territories, Rafiq Halabi, find it necessary to use this identification which is just like the "certificate of righteousness" the police issue to people wanting to carry a pistol or to get an inter-city taxi license? On October 19, 1976, a policeman came to my house and gave me an order banning my entry into the occupied territories. Usually, there are a few days every year on which I can go to the occupied territories between the effective dates of the old and the new orders. I use these days to make visits in the West Bank for my journalistic work.

Two years ago, I got in a taxi with a group of people from Dalyat al-Carmel, and we drove from Jenin to Jerusalem. We came to the first roadblock and before the border police said "Good morning" to us, our driver told him, "Good morning, sir, we are Druze." The soldier asked with admiration, "Druze? All respect to you, go on." He didn't even check our identity cards or the car.

The driver's behavior irritated me and I admonished him for his act of flattery and obsequiousness. I told him that in the worst case, he would have only asked us for our identity cards and licenses, adding, "Why should we be afraid, we are neither infiltrators nor hashish merchants?" The driver, along with the rest of the passengers, told me that I didn't know what I was talking about, and accused me of being naive or "playing the hero." And they told me, "As you see, they treat us nicely when they discover that we are Druze," and they laughed.

At the second roadblock, the same game was repeated. But at the third, at the entrance to the city of Ramallah, before the soldier opened his mouth, the driver declared, "We are Druze." And the soldier answered, "So what, you are worse than the Arabs," and we were not only asked to show our identity cards, but the soldier also body searched us very thoroughly. After this incident, the driver and the passengers didn't stop cursing, and they continued to do so all the way to Jerusalem and back to Dalyat al-Carmel.

When I read Halabi's book, *There Is a Limit*, I asked myself why did he behave like the taxi driver? But after I finished reading I discovered that Halabi didn't want to be "more Israeli than the Israelis." Rather he appeared to me as a person who is not able to bear the contradictions within himself. And the opening and closing sentences are brilliant rhetorical attempts to stick to the contradictions facing those who deny that he can be a patriot and an Israeli.

The book does not have many new facts about what is happening in the occupied territories. A great deal of what he wrote, he himself had already reported on television, and many other journalists have described what is happening in more depth and described more shocking stories — without the limitation of the TV authorities' provocations, or the military and political censor's scissors. Under existing conditions in the news department of Israeli television, he could not do more.

For a Palestinian Arab or a Druze intellectual, his views of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are not revolutionary, nor are they revolutionary for a reporter in the news department of Israeli television. And he didn't explicitly state his views about controversial political issues involved in the conflict, but preferred to remain faithful to "objective journalism" in order to keep his reputation.

I think the interesting thing about the book is the author, Rafiq Halabi, himself. I am not so sure that in the near or distant future, historians will use the book as an important document, when they rewrite the history of the conflict. But on the other hand, the book will be used as one of the most important documents in researching the character and essence of the state of Israel and Zionism, in one of its important stages of self-actualisation. I think that Rafiq Halabi is not a national gadfly, but rather a national contradiction.

'If he teases and goads, it is not because he exposes disturbing facts, but because he represents himself as a contradiction. Already in the first sentence he writes, "I am an Israeli patriot, even though I am not a Jew... The Arabs consider me a Palestinian, but I don't want to be a citizen in a Palestinian state, if and when it will be created... I am a Druze." In these words, Halabi raises two issues. One is complicated; the second simple.

The first is: Is it possible to be an Israeli patriot while not a Jew? The second is: Does being a Palestinian mean living in a Palestinian state?

Allow me to answer the second question first. Rafiq and I are from the same village. I am a Palestinian, and I don't want to live in the Palestinian state. And there is no contradiction here. It is possible to be a Palestinian and at the same time to be an American citizen. Every Arab, or one who considers you a Palestinian, doesn't want you to leave your house on the Carmel to go to live in Hebron. On the contrary, you are considered a Palestinian patriot if under no circumstances would you leave your house on the Carmel.

Rafiq Halabi is a very bright intellectual. He is careful in his formulation and in his definitions. He is an artist in convincing his reader, even in his arguments which sound naive, such as: A Palestinian is a person who wants to live in a Palestinian state. In his wisdom, he succeeded in a tactical way to refute his identity in order to prove the same identity. All the stories about the "father's house" or about the connection between "man and land," the language, the traditions, the story about Yehushua village — all these prove what he supposedly wanted to refute.

By doing so, he saved himself from his personal misery, and his real identity problem becomes the state's problem, which is a burden on the Jewish state.

When he demands and declares by his reserve (soldier's identity) card that he is an Israeli patriot, he pushes the state into a dilemma in which its leaders face a political and moral issue.

The opening and closing sentences of the book motivate me to try seriously to understand the writer. He finds himself in a very strange position. On the one hand, he is a reserve officer (which has prestige status in Israel), proud of his service in the army. He wishes for his children what every good Jew in Israel and in the whole world would wish, but with one difference. While his children's names are Basma, Yasmin, Yusef and Usama, the Jewish children's names are Roni, Gideon, Henri and Andre. He is called a traitor, and worries about his children's future because of the low level of education in the school where they study. He understands the concerns of his wife who doesn't know where to put their children in the afternoon, because the municipal budget in Dalyat al-Carmel is one-third the budget of the Jewish village of Yekunoam, whose population is one-third that of Dalyat al-Carmel.

When he is in Dalyat al-Carmel, his heart is with his brothers in the Shouf mountains and Hebron. And when he is in Jerusalem his heart is with his wife and children. And he is called the national gadfly because his heart is torn in two pieces, because he doesn't understand the meaning of the holocaust and the ingathering of the exiles, because he is wicked and ungrateful and ready to go too far and to believe in the right to self-determination for the Palestinians.

Druze children outside their school in the Golan Heights

IS IT POSSIBLE TO BE AN ISRAELI PATRIOT WITHOUT BEING A JEW?

Rafiq Halabi wanted to present in his book in a clear and direct form, every possible identity except his real identity. He considers himself an Israeli, an Arab, a Druze, a journalist, and an intellectual. The patriotism is a fanatic loyalty to these categories. To be a loyal Israeli means patriotism which means to serve proudly in the army, to pay taxes and to obey all the laws. To be an Arab means to keep all the social values and traditions. To be a Druze is to feel the pain of his brothers in the Galilee, the Golan, and the Shouf mountains. To be a loyal journalist is to write objective reports. And to be an intellectual is to learn more, to acquire an education, and to formulate ideas in a clever and nice way. All these elements appeared in his book in one way or another.

continued on page 10

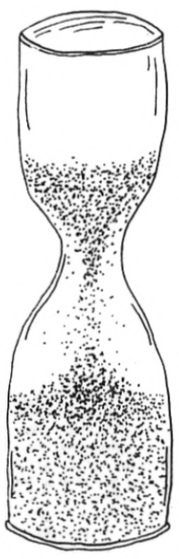
Palestinian-Israeli Roundtable Discussion:

SETTLEMENT POLICY AND POLITICAL CHANGE

irreversible?

There are two theories abroad about the present stage of Israeli settlement in the occupied territories. One is that things have gone so far that they cannot be stopped — foremost among the protagonists of this line are ex-deputy mayor of Jerusalem Meron Benvenisti and Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij. The counterview, that nothing is irreversible, was recently the subject of a long article in HaOlam Haze *by editor Uri Avneri.*

Al Fajr Hebrew recently brought together Avneri and Benvenisti in a roundtable discussion with Ibrahim Dakkak, head of the West Bank Engineers Union, and Islamic philosophy professor at Bir Zeit University Sari Nusseibeh. In fact, the expected 'too late' versus 'reversible' showdown did not come off. Both main protagonists quickly agreed that political power will determine the future of the occupied territories. A fascinating dialogue ensued, however, on the subject of settlements and political change.



Maale Adumin settlement on the Jerusalem-Jericho highway /JS

Meron Benvenisti kicked off by saying the term 'settlement' is now anachronistic. "We are not discussing settlements any more. By settlements you mean the old-type, *Gush Emunim*, ideologically motivated settlements. This era is past. It is now a suburban sprawl of the middle class, what you call in Israel 'Jewish middle class metropolitan area residents', who are now moved by the initiative of the government, by subsidies of the government, to areas not more than 20-25 minutes driving time from the metropolitan areas of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv," he said.

Benvenisti says the days of a planned take-over of the area in the old concept of the Labour Alignment — to plant settlements as geo-strategic facts, like the Allon plan — are over. "We're now at a stage where the area is wide open for speculation and for private and commercial enterprise to settle in areas where people don't have to work, but commute to their work outside the settlement and to entertainment places."

Benvenisti stressed that the important emphasis today is on roads, not on bringing to the West Bank industry or places of work.

"If you take all the settlements in the West Bank — let's assume that today there are about 85 or 90 — most of them are half-empty because they cannot find ideologically motivated *Gush Emunim* or even Labour Party kibbutzniks for them." Benvenisti, now famous as the primary Israeli researcher on the occupied territories, noted, "They are as empty in Samaria (northern West Bank) as they are in the Jordan valley. There are definite problems to mobilise people to go there.

"On the other hand, there is a demand which exceeds supply in all the areas where you can 'build-your-own-home': in Maale Adumin, in Jib, in Salfit, in the areas of what is called western Samaria — Kfar Saba east — and around Jerusalem. So this is, I believe, the new situation which started in 1979. It is now developing quickly. They started 6000 apartments. I think they are capable of finishing about 4000 apartments a year. And this is where physical changes are going to occur."

Benvenisti said a primary motivation behind the policy is to create a pro-settlement, pro-Likud constituency in Israel. "People moving to the West Bank will buy membership in the Likud government." He believes this is why Begin pushes into the West Bank and Gaza,"even if it is only 20 metres." The idea is to create a lobby of people who would invest their personal futures in the West Bank and would therefore vote against any government or any party which would call for a territorial compromise. It is not the Labour Alignment's old policy that settlements are a tool to create political facts against the outside world — whether Arabs or Americans. That was the old concept of Zionism. This is to create a political fact; political facts to affect internal Israeli politics.

To this end the Likud has ditched the *Gush Emunim* and kibbutz settlements and is putting all its resources into what they call the "high-demand area." Demand is the demand of the public.

Uri Avneri, veteran peace campaigner and former Knesset member who gained international fame when he met PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat during the siege of Beirut, put some political meat onto the bones of Benvenisti's outline. "I think you have here a multi-purpose operation. You have to take into account the psychology of Mr Begin, who is an old and sick man. I think he believes he has to do as much as he can while he is alive and in office to prevent future Israeli governments from reversing his policy. This idea of irreversibility is deeply ingrained. Irreversible in one sense: every person who goes to live in the West Bank, whatever the motivation — they may be doves and Labour Party members — has a vested interest against peace. Peace is no longer an ideological question but one of personal investment. They become 'missionaries against peace.' "

Avneri also saw a political motivation — to hamstring any future administration and finally as "an act of destruction against the Palestinian people." He says the Israelis want to squeeze them out by grabbing land which could be used for expansion, hoping young people will emigrate. He sees a lack of educational possibilities as part of this plan.

"I think this government would find it preferable to squeeze people out rather than to kick them out physically, as some people quite openly advocate and many people not so openly advocate. As long as they believe that Arabs can be squeezed out without any dramatic physical acts, this is quite preferable," he asserts.

Avneri also notes the Begin government wants to create the impression around the world, "especially in the US," that nothing can be done to take the West Bank away from them. They want "to discourage in advance any such schemes on the part of the Arab world." It all leads to the same — to make the incorporation of the occupied territories into Israel an established fact.

Avneri forwards the belief that nothing human is irreversible. He defines to this extent an Israeli concept of irreversibility as a point which needs some very dramatic event to reverse it. A national tragedy, maybe a civil war in Israel, another catastrophic war with the Arab world, etc. In some way it will assume a different dimension.

Picking up the issue again, Benvenisti said he was pessimistic because the dynamic forces domestically and internationally for annexation are so much greater than those against. The middle-aged researcher admits that chronologically we have not reached a point where it is 'too late.' "But if we project these dynamic forces, I lose hope," he said. "In 'real time' we are five minutes to midnight. But if we take a dynamic assessment, it is after midnight."

Ibrahim Dakkak, describing himself as a "person interested in politics," weighed in saying, "I think the dynamics of Israeli society are pushing things forward, even beyond the views of Begin himself to a point where he could not stop it if he wanted to."

Dakkak thinks that while the present situation is a problem for the Palestinians, "at the same time it is a trap for Israelis and one has to see the future." He notes the dilemma is a Palestinian-Israeli dilemma, "and a solution which might come in the future will be paid for equally by both sides." He agreed with Benvenisti's theory about squeezing out Palestinians. "We can remember very well what Aharon Yariv said in 1980 about plans to take 700-800,000 Palestinians out of the country." He drew parallels with an earlier phase of colonisation. "Until 1948 I think the leading role was for Zionist socialism lead by the Labour Party, but after that they lost the battle to the entrepreneurs and to the pragmatists and even the Labour Party does not claim it is socialist. From 1979 onwards, the ideologues in the settlements lost the battle to the people who are there for personal interests, so I think that the situation in the future is becoming very gloomy. It is a trap; how to get out of that is very difficult and we need to think about it. But I don't think anyone can have a blueprint for the future."

Dakkak said the Palestinians' decision "once and for all" is that they will stay on the land against the policy of evicting them. "When we as Palestinians decide to stay on our land, it is because we have hope. The dynamics which push Israeli society into its present situation are also developing counter-reactions, though they are still marginal," he reports.

Some of Dakkak's hope lies in the direction of Palestinians finding alliance with a certain section of the Israeli public. "A very concentrated effort must be made to convince a big section of the Israeli public to accept the basic rights of the Palestinians, to accept that these rights should be respected and that security in the area for both parties can never be achieved by denying the rights of the Palestinians," he says.

Dakkak notes that the Israelis have not lived normally for the past 36 years because of their national consensus. "If you went out of that consensus you were excommunicated from the Zionist church. But now, of course, we hear voices of people who feel that the current situation is pushing them forward to a situation they cannot tolerate. Economically, as you can see, there are a lot of strikes. Even security-wise they are not very happy with what they are doing in Lebanon. Even in the West Bank, to a certain extent, there are questions of the value of extending the limits of Israel to areas where there are a lot of Palestinians who are against this policy and creating problems for the Israelis." Dakkak admits that the non-consensus people are still marginal in Israeli society but hopes "they can take a greater and greater part in decision making."

Avneri countered by saying Palestinian West Bankers have had until now "very little part in the struggle, apart from their determination not to be moved." He said, however, they could do a lot to change the situation in Israel.

"The peace movement in Israel could become a bigger force if there was major and open cooperation between the population of the West Bank and the peace forces in Israel." He believes this does not exist at the moment.

Avneri cites the example of the last Israeli 'independence day' demonstration for the settlement in Nablus and the second demonstration against the settlement. "In both of them, Arabs were not involved," he said.

Expanding his ideas, Anveri said the Israeli peace movement "is not ready yet psychologically to have contact with the PLO, but also because the PLO has done very little to encourage such contacts because of internal opposition."

"You cannot have any credibility for the Israeli peace movement if it cannot be shown that they have good relations with the population on the ground. I would put this at the top of the agenda," concluded Avneri.

Ibrahim Dakkak said he felt Avneri's hypothesis was unfair. "It is unfair simply because the situation under which the Palestinians are living is not the same as that under which the Israelis are living. And when the Israelis started to protest against the Israeli measures, they started to protest from a humanistic point of view." He pointed out that in 1967 very few Israelis were politically motivated in their protest, whereas Palestinian resistance was very political from very early on. For the Palestinian engineer, the distinction between the lack of an overtly political movement and the protest group the peace movement is now is vital. "Until now the peace movement did not have a political line. We remember that in 1981 the Peace Now movement separated on the issue of voting. Every member went to his own party. As for the Palestinians, they were very clear from the start that they did not want occupation."

"Many a time, of course, we find ourselves in the same boat but it is not planned like that; it is simply because we find ourselves accidently up against the same thing. That is why it is not easy to say that we could align ourselves together quickly. I think it is very important for the future that the Israelis should do their own work very well and that we should do our work very well, and at the end we'll find ourselves in the same place," concluded Dakkak.

Avneri agreed that most supporters of the peace forces in Israel have mainly humanistic motivations. He said, however, that inside the big peace movement you have smaller peace forces which are politically oriented and have a political programme in favour of Palestinian self-determination and a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. "I think it's true to say that you have a large measure of agreement beteen the population of the West Bank and Gaza and at least that part of the Israeli peace movement. I would say that very often in politics you have coalitions between forces which don't have the same political programme but at a certain time and certain stage in a certain political situation can cooperate, even if they have different ideological motivations," he countered.

In drawing together the disparate elements of the debate, Benvenisti gave his view of stone throwing as a first stage in an intercommunal riot.

"If you don't have a civilian population then you can throw rocks only at army vehicles. Once you have commuters going back and forth then it is the schoolchildren who are throwing rocks at other schoolchildren. Arabs against Jews, right? Palestinians and Israelis," he asserted. "When populations become intermingled you get friction which is one level beneath the level of the confrontation between the army — the occupying force — and the other population. Then, it becomes a riot, an intercommunal riot. The more there will be Israelis living there, the more you will have this kind of thing. What Israel intends to do is to avoid it — not by arresting the schoolchildren. They are going to build Jewish roads."

He then described the expansion of a road network, to get settler commuters to town, being built up separately from the Arab road system.

"The significance of rock throwing is that it indicates the stage we are now in. The stage we are in is such that the two populations are now interminged, so we are not just having a confrontation with the army but with the settlers. Therefore what you have is the reaction of the settlers, and then it gets out of hand. This is what the future will bring," believes Benvenisti.

Sari Nusseibeh gave the ultimate word on irreversibility. "I do not think that anything is irreversible. I'd like to say that in an abstract way facts, unlike matter, can both be created and destroyed. There is nothing which is an irreversible fact. I say this in the abstract. I'm not calling for war. But I think one ought to keep that in mind. Secondly, I think settlements were created not because the Israelis were able to pass legislation through the Knesset to build settlements. I think settlements were created because the power balance was such that it enabled them to do so."

Nusseibeh said that settlements will stop existing not because Israeli constituents or Israeli peace forces within Israel legislate in the Knesset, but because of a reversal or a change in the balance of power. He said he does not have an answer to Israel's 'squeezing out' policy. From the Palestinian point of view the question is one of exercising their will and trying to overcome what certainly is from a material point of view an overwhelming force.

Nusseibeh did see a future for passive resistance, strikes, statements in the press, etc. "I think this could be developed and probably will be developed as there's no other way to act." He agreed with Dakkak, however, on the perceptions of the Israeli and Palestinian peace forces. "I think they are at different struggles at this stage. One has to be objective and look at the reasons that someone in Nablus goes on strike and the reasons why an Israeli goes to Nablus against the settlements and see whether their motives can go together or not. I think that at this stage it is not really possible," Benvenisti declared.

(Excerpted from Al Fajr — Hebrew)

BOOKS BANNED IN THE WEST BANK

Al Fajr **publishes the last of the list of books banned in the West Bank by the Israeli military authorities as published for the first time in cumulative form by the Israeli Defence Forces, September 20, 1982, under the title** *Decrees, Orders and Stipulations: Order Regarding Hostile Propaganda.* **The order is dated January 18, 1977 and is issued by Yehoshua Bar David, censor, who writes in the introduction: "Based on the authority granted to me in accordance with Article No 88(A) from Defence Regulations (State of Emergency) 1945 and Article 8 regarding the prohibition of works of hostile propaganda (Judea and Samaria) No 101 for the year 1967, and as I believe that the order is necessary for purposes of security and public order, I hereby issue the following order...It is prohibited to import or print or distribute the publications listed below this order. All orders regarding publications which were issued before the date of this order are repealed. The effective date of this order is January 26, 1976."**

Title	Author	Place of Publication Publisher
The Marriage of Blood in Lebanon	Ghali Shukri	Beirut Dar al-Talia
Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics	Sa'ad Saleh	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh and Dar al-Halaf
General Strategy in Our Movement and Revolution	Naji Alloush	Beirut Dar al-Talia
The National Palestinian Movement in the Face of Jews and Zionists 1882 - 1948	Naji Alloush	Beirut Dar al-Talia Beirut Dar al-Awdeh and Dar al-Hadaf
Revelation, Party, Revolution, State: The Political, Theoretical and Organisational Report at the Second General National Conference	Nayef Hawatmeh	Dar Ibn Khaldoun and the DFLP
From the Slaughterhouse to the Field of Convocation	Abbas al-Sesi	Alexandria the House of Convocation
The Line of Strife and Conflict, and the Line of Settlement and Elimination	Naji Alloush	Beirut Dar al-Talia
Literature of Resistance	Ghassan Kanafani	Beirut Dar al-Adab
The Channel of the Seas	Samir Jabbur	Beirut Studies Institute
The Mediterranean and Dead Sea Canal -- The Israeli Project and its Dangers		Beirut Institute for Palestine Studies
Development of Arab Revolutionary Ideology (National Thought)	Elias Farab	Beirut — The Arab Organisation
Comparison Between Religions and Orientalism	Ahmad Shalaby	Egypt — Institute for Muslim Studies
Pain in the Heart of Israel	Anis Mansour	Egypt — The Modern Egyptian Office
The Palestinians — Part Four	Suleiman Thaher	Sidon — Beirut Modern Book Store
Revolutionary Afghanistan	Hanna Saleh	Beirut — Dar al-Faraby
Charms of the Desert	Shakib Amawy	Egypt -- Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi
Hagana, Etsel Lehi and the Relationship Between Zionist Armed Organisations 1937-1948	Abdel Hafith Muhareb	PLO Research Centre
Modern Arab History	Zahia Qadura	Beirut — Dar al-Nahda al-Arabia
Israeli Strategy and the Resistance In the Occupied Territories	Usama Ghazali Harb	Cairo — Ahram Centre for Political Studies
The War Decision in Israeli Politics	Sayyed Ileiwa	Cairo — Ahram Centre for Political Studies
The Civil War in Lebanon	Naji Alloush	
Towards a New Palestinian Revolution	Naji Alloush	Beirut — Dar al-Talia
Palestinian Short Stories In the Occupied Territories	Fakhry Saleh	Beirut -- Dar al-Awda
The US and the Palestinians: Between Comprehension and Elimination	Mohammad Shadid	Beirut -- The Arab Organisation
Jerusalem -- The Zionist Plans for Occupation and Judaisation	Samir Firies	Beirut — Institute for Palestine Studies
UN Resolutions on Palestine and the Israeli-Arab Conflict 1980		Beirut — Institute for Palestine Studies

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Rafiq Halabi

He doesn't talk about his national identity as a Palestinian, because he is afraid of what people will say about him. Maybe these fears are understandable, maybe everyone in his place would do the same thing. Because if he opened a lecture with the statement, "I am a Palestinian," somebody would disrupt it, because in the places where Halabi gives lectures, there are people who are filled with propaganda, who see him and those who like him as strangers, as a cancer, as two-legged animals, or as poisoned cockroaches in a bottle.

I am not going to elaborate on Halabi's identity. For the sake of discussion, I will accept the idea, with which I don't agree, "that national identity is determined by the feelings of the individual." More important is the expression, "I am an Israeli patriot even if I am not a Jew." What are the sources of Halabi's Israeli patiotism? Are they a result of his serving with pride in the army, or of his non-silence about what's happening in the West Bank, at the hands of uniformed people of whom he is proud?

When it is stated that Israel is the national homeland of the Jews and that it is a Jewish, Zionist state, with all its implications, he who states this either believes that there is no room for people like Rafiq Halabi, or he intends to see Halabi only as a stranger in this country, who is just like a person who gets a lift in a car, which he is forced to leave when the driver asks him to do so. And that is why people blame him for being ungrateful to the state in which he lives. Those people remind him that his citizenship is conditional, and that if he wants to express his opinion, he first has to show his identity cards, as my taxi driver did, for which the first two soldiers understood him, but the third searched him in an abrasive way.

For 35 years, the connection between me, Rafiq Halabi and the state of Israel was no more than a "package deal," not because I chose this connection, but because it was imposed on me by the nature of the state. Halabi, like his Druze community, pays all his duties to the state of Israel. They don't have any personal problem with the state. And whenever he is accused of being a traitor, he shows his army reserve card, and this act can silence people. But when he demands, according to this card, to get his rights, and when he declares that he is "an Israeli patriot," he forces the state's leaders into a political and moral dilemma, because it is not ethical that a person should fulfil all obligations and get only part rights. This is exploitation, slavery, extortion, and oppression, and so on. And from a political aspect, this situation forces the leaders and the politicians to decide clearly what is the status of such a person. Giving full civil rights to non-Jewish citizens in a Jewish state goes together with the nature of the state, its interests, dreams and ideology.

I want to distinguish between two sorts of rights and obligations: civic and national.

A person who pays his dues to the national insurance, pays a civic debt, and at the age of 65, he gets back what he paid and everything according to the insurance policy. This is a contract between two sides. It is possible to argue whether it is good or bad, but it is impossible to argue about its legal validity.

A person who serves in the army and who swears not to save his skin when it is needed for the security of the state, of its borders, its government's policy, and its national goals — this person pays a national obligation. We have to ask what are his national rights. Are they inferior to the rights of any other citizen in the same situation?

It is possible to bring many examples to demonstrate this last point, but I will choose an extreme example. Rafiq Halabi has a large and respected family in the Shouf mountains in Lebanon, numbering more than 20,000 persons (men, women and children). Because they are suffering the anarchy and Phalangist harassment, they asked him to help them save their lives by helping them to immigrate to Israel — either to Dalyat al-Carmel or as partners in a new settlement in the Galilee (exactly like the Jewish immigrants from Russia and South Africa). Halabi is an Israeli patriot and a real Druze, a public figure, and an officer in the army, who understands the meaning of democracy, so he was sure that he would easily be able to help them move to Israel with the status of *olim hadashim*, (new immigrants) according to the Law of Return. He is sure that will happen because he thinks that he can get all the rights a Jews gets. Equality or not.

Now seriously, can Rafiq Halabi save this family from its misery? I don't think that a person needs to be too clever to realize what will really happen.

The Law of Return applies only to Jews. Is this justified? Halabi will say with great temper: But why is the Law to serve in the army a national law, imposed in full, and when one tries to avoid military service, he is sent to the Jaleme prison for 48 hours, and the Law of Return is not valid in his case? Does a bullet distinguish between a Jew and a Druze?

He may keep quiet when they tell him that the Law of Return is the Law of Laws for a Jewish State, and that if he doesn't like it, the Minister Gideon Patt will order a special taxi to take him to the Allenby Bridge.

This is the national contradiction which is called Rafiq Halabi, as it appears in his book, *There is a Limit: a Story of the West Bank.*

If paying national obligations is parallel to national rights and vice versa, the state of Israel should be a national homeland for Rafiq Halabi, the goy, the Druze, the Palestinian — everything except a Jew — as it is a national homeland for all the people of Israel.

Maybe Israel could be a bi-national state? Or a secular democratic state? Or even a one nation state which doesn't recognise other national rights, but exempts them from national duties? In that case, I will continue to respect Rafiq Halabi if he declares: "I am a Palestinian patriot," more than when he declares, "I am an Israeli patriot." And this is real national right. Halabi may have no problem continuing to live without looking for a solution, to work and to live quietly, to write looking for a solution and to raise his children. And he will always be the "suffering angel." And those who have to respond to his challenge are the Israelis whom he tells, "I am an Israeli patriot."

I don't know if Rafiq Halabi agrees with me, and I didn't write these lines to support his enemies on television or in the Knesset, or in any other "democratic" institution. I ask all his enemies not to quote me in their wars against him, because I didn't want to write about Rafiq Halabi the person, but about the contradiction. Mobilising the Druze in the army is a test of the morality of the state. He who cares for the morality of the state is not obliged to accept my opinions, but he is asked to solve his moral problem, as soon as possible, because also to this problem, "there is a limit."

THE DROWNED

By Izzat Ghazzawi

He cleaned the muddy spots on his pants and walked toward the farmhouse to wash his face and feet. He felt he needed some rest, and so he sat in front of the small hut and contemplated his life: the water, the soil and the green. If what was said about the farm was true, then this life would slip into darkness. He knew for sure that the holy blend of water, soil and the green was the centre of life — the force that destroys chaos and creates forms, and colours and memories.

If what was said was true. He gazed suddenly at the nearby farms, dancing with green under the setting sun; on the endless horizon — where light and darkness met — Abu Abbas saw clearly the iron posts and heaps of barbed wire. Was that the beginning? He stared unflinchingly as if in an attempt to block the windows of time and space, and pass on to that particular spot where both light and darkness met, but his eyes glazed. He flew to the horizon, landed like a temporary cloud, and stood beyond the wire as if he were a hungry beggar. He lay his head on the wall and the setting sun expired.

He moved a step forward and heard a crash. It was as if a huge snake was thundering through a waste land. The heaps of barbed wires moved toward him steadily. He did not flinch. The wires moved on. They whirled around in large and small circles. They moved steadily. Abu Abbas raised his hand instinctively as if to protect himself, but he wouldn't move. In a minute, he was caught in an eddy of barbed wire.

What was all that weakness that overpowered him? Did he still own the powerful arm that had fought all the thistles for 20 years? He breathed heavily. "Water," he cried. He closed his mouth on the succulent soil. He smiled at the distinctive smell of soil and water.

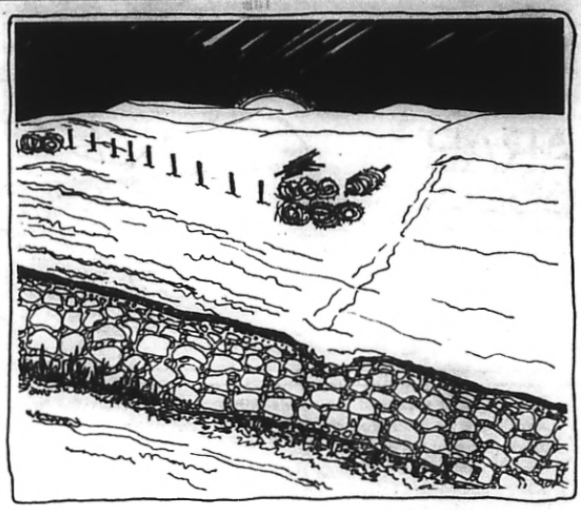
The smile vanished completely when Abu Abbas felt again the wire scratches all over his body. Then, as if numbed, he felt relieved and wiped the sweat off his forehead. He liked the idea, and rubbed his pale face with his hand automatically until some soil got into his eye. He smiled. He didn't try to wipe the soil out of his eye.

He recalled compassionately one good old day. It was as if the burdens of noon dispersed before a perfumed spring evening. He was at the farm irrigating the eggplants, and suddenly heard his cow lowing....she was in labour.

Abu Abbas hurried toward the cow which was trembling with pain. Her red eyes moved blankly. Oh, God! At sunset, the whole world yielded to a moment of silence, the cow gave birth to a sturdy calf, which sank into his mother's teats, and Abu Abbas smiled. He didn't notice the voices of the young farmers who sang for the coming day. But now that the cow gave birth, he listened attentively. The voices, like an ethereal wave, penetrated walls and obstacles. It was Fawas — who was in love with Samiha. Abu Abbas listened:

Her pretty eyes left me dead,
I was dead as a sheep on pasture

Are the pretty eyes and the pasture inseparable? Where is beauty to be found, if not blended with the cattle quenching its thirst at the well? The second voice came quickly; it was that of Sharifa, who had never married. He listened attentively.



A good morrow for Marzouq
A man who starts his day looking at pretty faces
Is liable to win.
A market is held on the pretty woman's breasts,
People sell and buy.

Oh, God! Is this the song of a 50-year-old woman? Does this stupid woman know how the breasts of pretty women can be markets? She could have given up her farm to Qadora and they would get her married to the best of their young men, but she refused!

The voices ceased to exist and the barbed wire cuts tortured him again. Even the simple movement of his body was impossible. He grasped the wet soil and started pushing the wire off his body. Ah ha Monday, I have to spray the farm with the insecticide. Tuesday, the fertilisation of the tomatoes. Wednesday, removing the weeds. And each evening the village walls and his wife's lap would give him shelter. But where are the walls and the lap now? The sweet daily routine mingled with the eternal essentials of life: The water, the soil and the green, and for him, those are the elements of physical and spiritual purity.

"Abu Abbas!" somebody whispered. He felt his hand grasp a silky piece of cloth, and Um Abbas kneeled and kissed his worn face. How merciful this hand is!

On their way home, the village walls looked old but firmly established. A black dog passed, barked and escaped. The walls swallowed them, and they went into the house.

THE SHOT

by Farouk Mwasi

I didn't imagine that the pistol I held in my hand could be loaded. I pointed it at the people around me in wild fancy. Pistols were my favourite toys during my childhood, and I loved them because they always meant manhood, heroism and high status.

I picked up the pistol and pointed it at my brother; then I pointed it at Awad, its owner. Awad had handed me the pistol after I had begged him repeatedly. He unloaded the pistol, leaving one bullet inside.

Awad shouted to me not to touch the trigger. He guessed I was kidding, but still he cried, "Take care!" I followed Awad and my brother and pointed the pistol at each of them in turn. Each time I pretended to pull the trigger, Awad would collapse. I liked the game. I laughed heartily. My brother was scared stiff and lay on the floor while I held the pistol to his head and staring eyes.

"I am a man...a hero...a cowboy... Texas...Imagine that this little machine could kill so many: people's lives, scientific development, culture and art; everything can be undone in seconds. The criminal is set loose, tortured or not tortured. He justifies his action and forgets...it's a mosquito that's killed." My brother still lay on the floor.

"I beseech you," he cried.

Awad was lifeless: "Take away your hand."

An imitation pistol can, at night, fill the bravest heart with terror. The effect of a real pistol is even worse. But I wanted them to 'act' scared, so I shouted at my brother:

"Say, 'I'll never'!"

"I'll never," he whispered.

"And you, Awad, say, 'My uncle is a goat'."

"My uncle is a goat."

They said the words quickly. I was astonished at the submission they showed. Awad almost wept. Is this little machine so powerful?

Ten years ago I was summoned to the police station. I was charged with shooting at the shacks.

"Me?" I asked the inspector. "I don't even know how to use a pistol."

"Shut up!" he shouted. "You act the fool now."

I was released after a long period of suffering.

I looked at my brother; he was scared.

"Brother," I said, "imagine yourself bleeding. We'll mourn for you. The cars are nearby, but you will die. We'll accept condolences at our house. We'll drink lots of coffee. And you, Awad, why carry a pistol? You are a suspect. I always wanted to buy a pistol and hide it under my mattress just in case an intruder broke in at night and forced me to give him the few dinars I have. I'll aim at your heart. Accurate aim is essential. I was no good at throwing stones, but now...Look how I play with the pistol...Look how you beg me not to shoot you."

Awad kept silent. He knew that excitement could lead to danger, so he managed to smile and said:

"You really know how to make people scared."

"What? This is a genuine pistol. There were six bullets inside it. It was originally invented by Samuel Colt in the year 1836. Though not loaded, it's still a pistol."

"No, it is loaded," cried Awad.

I waved the pistol about. I staggered about like a drunk.

"Wait! I'll commit suicide. I'll relieve myself of this tiresome life. What's more, I'll stop seeing people I don't want to see. I'll shoot myself in the head. Nothing will happen. People will act as if nothing had happened.

"But oh!...I help others; that's why I exist. I won't die. Why do we die? I'll point the pistol at heaven. Heaven, welcome this shot because you are indifferent to what happens on earth. Or, Welcome this shot as a protest because we accuse you. Either you exist or you don't."

I pulled the trigger. There was an explosion. Awad picked up his pistol.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The after shocks of the events in Hebron – especially the Israeli government's public announcements regarding the plans to establish a Jewish quarter in Hebron and move in hundreds of Jewish families to the heart of Arab Hebron – and the Israeli protest actions were the major stories in the Palestinian papers this week.

Al Quds ran a front page story, July 18, concerning the continued talk by Israeli minister without portfolio Mordechai Ben Porat of a plan to rehabilitate Palestinian refugees into ghetto-like centres in the Jordan Valley.

The painful situation in the Beka'a Valley was a major concern of the local papers.

The Palestinian Decision

The Israeli Communist Party was one of the first to support the 'independence of the Palestinian decision.' We rejected all illusory options and backed the PLO, headed by Chairman Yasir Arafat, in a drive to achieve a just Israeli-Palestinian peace.

This is the stand adopted officially by the USSR. In reiterating our position, we would like to point out two new developments:

* We have noticed that there are some Palestinian sources in Israel and the occupied territories which claim to support Arafat, but at the same time are opposed to his policies or peace programmes. These elements actually align themselves with dissidents or with the Jordanian-American camp, which is aiming to liquidate the Palestinian cause.

* The attitude of some Fatah dissidents and Syrian Baathists makes us believe that the current conflicts (PLO-dissidents, PLO-Syria) are not merely 'organisational', but reflect a deep-rooted political opposition to Arafat's course of action. Some of the actions of Fatah dissident leader Abu Musa, for instance, could be interpreted as reactionary. Syria's Tishrin also seems to be harking back to the past when it denies the Palestinian people its right to a national entity. Syrian Defence Minister Mustafa Talas' declaration of the inevitability of war with Israel in the future seems to indicate that the Arabs are not ready for war now, an assumption disproved during the heroic defence of Beirut.

It is Begin, Shamir, Arens, Sharon and Levy who are preparing for war, for a new Israeli aggression – they have persistently refused to accept the peace overtures made to them.

Let us work to close the ranks of the PLO and effect a rapprochement with Syria, and let us be wary of falling into the Israeli trap of waging war on Syria.

We denounce all attempts to create a rift within the PLO, or to weaken the position of Yasir Arafat as PLO Chairman.

AL ITTIHAD
July 14

A Disastrous Course

The Lebanese Phalangist regime may, without departing too much from truth or propriety, be likened to a legendary ostrich which buries its head in the sand, leaving its whole body exposed in the mistaken belief that nobody will notice it.

There have been reports recently of a coordinated move by Lebanon and Israel to effect a partial Israeli withdrawal from the Shouf mountains to the Awali river line.

The Lebanese had earlier repeatedly voiced their rejection of any partial Israeli withdrawal, and their about-face now reduces their credibility to zero.

Lebanon's vacillation will make it very difficult to apply any pressure on Israel for a complete withdrawal from all Lebanese territory.

It also reinforces Israel's occupation of the Lebanese south, and makes it virtually impossible to get Israel to budge from its well-entrenched positions on Lebanese territory.

Lebanon's decision to act the ostrich will also lead inevitably to a disastrous partition of the country, and to the dispossession of its people.

AL SHAAB
July 15

Armed Clashes in Beirut

The recent armed clashes between the Lebanese Army and Shi'ite elements in West Beirut once more bring to the fore the extremely fragile and flimsy web of Lebanon's internal political structure, a web bequeathed (or rather imposed) by its former colonialist rulers.

The web is an anachronistic jumble of sectarian jockeyings which resembles more of a powder keg than a *modus vivendi* agreed upon by the Phalangist, the Shi'ite, the Sunni, the Druze and the handful of other ethnic or religious groupings.

It is high time a solution is found to clear the cobweb. The makeshift 'concordat' has not stood the test of time, and the Lebanese people have paid dearly for its impermanence.

The latest clashes come as a clarion call alerting the world to the possibility of another round of civil wars in Lebanon.

It is high time the people of Lebanon gathered together in a universal show of strength and determination to decide upon a lasting national consensus that would lay down the groundwork for future sectarian harmony.

First and foremost, the various Lebanese groupings must realise that they are loyal Lebanese who love their country and respect its laws. It is no use having to rely on intermittent international intervention to help defuse the recurrent political sectarian upheavals; the Lebanese people themselves must impose law and order within the borders of their own country.

And what is happening in the Shouf mountains now must effectively put to rest all claims that it was the Palestinians who sparked the Lebanese civil war in 1976.

AL QUDS
July 16

Back to the Jordanian Option?

The Jordanian media has been falling over itself in an attempt to deny reports that King Hussein has sent feelers to Israel expressing his readiness to enter into so-called Middle East peace 'negotiations.'

No matter whether these reports lack veracity or not; it is clear that there is no smoke without fire. Observers of the Jordanian political scene have witnessed a recent shift in Hussein's policy sufficient to warrant the assumption that he wants to join the peace talks with Israel, at any price.

We are back, then, to the Jordanian option, at a time when Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin is preparing to go to Washington to meet Reagan for the first time since Reagan announced his peace proposal, which gave Hussein a vital role in the peace talks, ignoring the role the Palestinians, who hold the sole key to the whole jumble, should have been assigned.

The Jordanian regime has for a long time tried to promote the Reagan plan, presenting it as the maximum the Arabs can expect to extract from the US. It has tried to pressure the PLO and West Bank Palestinians into falling into line – but in vain.

At the Fez summit, the Arab states put down the lowest limit they are prepared to accept in terms of concessions and rejected the Reagan plan, which they did not consider would guarantee these minimum requirements demanded by the Palestinians.

Hussein is making a big mistake if he thinks he can exploit the present quandary to flog his dead horse once again. The Palestinian people are not ready to succumb to any sort of threat or pressure.

AL FAJR
July 18

Moral Bankruptcy Of Israeli Media

"Israeli James Bond Heroically Evades Capture by Arab Highwaymen," the headlines screamed.

This is a sample of what graces the front pages of Israeli papers these days. But worse things are happening to the Israeli invaders in Lebanon, and nary a word do we hear.

It seems the 'free' press of Israel has simply decided that there are no Lebanese in Lebanon, just 'saboteurs' who appear in various guises. Sometimes they are depicted as Palestinians, at other times as Shi'ite and then Druze.

Also, these saboteurs can operate only treacherously; they are not manly enough to fight face to face with Israel's James Bonds, but always try to get their man from behind, in the way of the coward.

The press has been agog this week with reports of incidents in Lebanon, where Israeli heroes have performed feats of daring.

But we were not there and we were not allowed to investigate; this is the press freedom we enjoy in Israel – we have to rely on the word of the Israeli papers to learn what is going on there.

But why should we blame the press, when Israeli leaders like Defence Minister Moshe Arens think so little of their own people that they expect them to believe Arabs behave the way they do simply because they do not like the way a Jew looks.

We want to impress upon our Arab readers the true facts about the biased racist nature of the Israeli press, and to urge them to keep an eye on them.

AL ITTIHAD
July 19

CSBZU demonstrators in Jerusalem./JN

CSBZU PROTESTS HEBRON CURFEW

Over 150 activists of the Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit University protested, July 18, in West Jerusalem against the curfew in Hebron. Demonstrators chanted: "Begin, Arens and Sharon – Leave Hebron Immediately!" in front of Hamashbir department store on King George V Street as passersby stood to watch; some argued loudly.

One day before, a group of five committee members were arrested in Hebron while setting up a vigil in front of the military governor's headquarters in the town, close to the ultra-right *Gush Emunim* settlers' vigil protesting against the alleged "failure of the military to defend the civilians" (settlers). After the organisers threatened an appeal to the High Court, the police licensed an on-going vigil at the same place in Hebron, to start July 19.

Jerusalem police used a double fence around the demonstrators and stationed themselves between the two. The 150 demonstrators were squeezed into an area of less than 100 square metres.

Placards were lifted and hung on the police fences, calling: "No to settlement in Hebron's centre," "withdraw Kiryat Arba," and "No to oppression and occupation; the government is responsible for all violence in the territories." The demonstrators were met with loud shouts, insults and violent retorts.

A leaflet handed out by the CSBZU compared the authorities' double standard to offences committed by local Arab inhabitants and Israeli and foreign settlers: "The hooligans of Kiryat Arba shot and wounded an Arab girl in a *purim spiel* (festival) – the Kiryat Arba municipality was not dismissed; an explosive device was found in the Kiryat Arba municipal office – the head of the (settlement) municipality was not dismissed; settlers threw grenades at mosques and houses in Hebron – there was no curfew called on Kiryat Arba. An armed settler was stabbed in Hebron and left to die by his comrades – the mayor of Hebron was dismissed, a curfew put on Hebron, the settlers arsoned the market and the minister of defence declared that the centre of Hebron will be given to the settlers..."

The leaflet called all conscious people to avoid developments that might cause a new exile of Palestinian Arab refugees fleeing to Jordan.

The demonstration dispersed in silence after one hour, without any interference.

DURHAM-BZU COOPERATION FINALISED

A personal touch to political understanding underscored the recent week-long visit to the occupied territories by an 11-member Durham University delegation. The Bir Zeit University administration sponsored the trip and were joint hosts with the student council for the mixed student-faculty group.

The Durham group came to investigate possibilities for their 'Durham-Bir Zeit Studentship Fund,' and for the cooperative agreement signed between the two universities' administrations, as well as to establish general relations with institutions of higher education in the West Bank.

The studentship fund, which will annually allow one Bir Zeit student to study tuition-free at Durham, was initiated by Durham students and faculty this year. With donations from individual students, university colleges, Durham townspeople and from ticket sales raised at two concerts, the fund will begin to host one student in the '84-85 academic year.

Other possibilities of inter-university cooperation discussed during the visit include: work on support campaigns for Bir Zeit and other educational institutions in Britain, sending British delegations to international voluntary work camps organised by the Bir Zeit student council, a one-year Arabic language study programme at Bir Zeit for Durham students, exchanges for faculty in teaching and joint-research, and post-graduate studies at Durham.

During their stay in Palestine last month, the Durham delegation met with members of the Bir Zeit community and listened to a discussion of their problems caused by the occupation. On the first day of their tour – to Gaza – they met Qassem 'Azzat, Bir Zeit student council member responsible for volunteer work, who is under town arrest in Beit Hanoun.

The group, which included specialists on the Middle East and those with only recent interest, was uniformly surprised at the interference of the occupation in details of everyday life. In Gaza refugee camps, they met with people whose homes were destroyed; at Bassam Shaka'a's home they learned about the intensity of daily harassment of his family; they toured Jerusalem settlements and visited a Palestinian family near 'Givat Ze'ev' whose cultivated land had been bulldozed without notice or compensation. "Despite the difficult circumstances in which the people live, we saw that they are determined to survive with dignity," concluded Pandelis Glavanis, sociology lecturer and member of the Durham delegation.

Both members of the Durham delegation and their Bir Zeit hosts were enthusiastic about the week spent together. "It was the most successful visit ever of a foreign student delegation to Bir Zeit," said student council member Ghassan Jarrar.

EL HAKAWATI'S "ALI THE GALILEAN," DELAYED

ISRAELIS ATTEMPT TO BAN PLAY IN GALILEE

Israeli education officials effectively stopped the production of a Palestinian play in the Galilee, July 17, although legal intervention finally forced the show to go on the following day.

The Arab affairs advisor in the Israeli Ministry of Education contacted the principal of Kufr Kanna elementary school and informed him that the Israeli education ministry was opposed to the idea of using the school's yard for the Jerusalem-based El Hakawati theatre company's performance of their latest production *Ali the Galilean.*

The theatre company's lawyer, Lea Tsemel, asked the legal advisor of the education ministry to explain why a play which is permitted by the Israeli Ministry of Interior cannot be performed in a government schoolyard. The Israeli legal advisor then retracted the banning decision, but informed the local school principal that he must bear full responsibility for the play since the education ministry did not have a chance to take a look at the text of the play beforehand. On July 18, after the cancellation of the first performance and after extended discussions with the village local council head, the school principal agreed to allow the use of the schoolyard.

Youths Imprisoned for Setting off Firecrackers

In the first trial of its kind, the Israeli military court in Ramallah gave three Ramallah youths one month imprisonment, three months suspended sentence, and fined them IS3000 each, after convicting them of exploding fire-crackers. The formal charge was that they exploded the crackers "deliberately, with the intention of creating panic." The three youths, Imad Ahmad Khalaf, 18, Awwad Nasif al-Shafi, 18, and Lutfi Yahia al-Shafi, 16, were released immediately since they had completed their sentence while waiting for the trial date. They have been in detention since June 14.

Lawyer Felicia Langer, who represented the three youths, described the charges and the holding the youths in detention as "shameful."

continued from page 6

Gravesites

canes. Beneath them one can see short iron stakes – some marked with blue numbers, some not, some lying on the ground, some still standing. In one part a row of 17 stand next to overgrown mounds.

The place is eerie. Traffic, military and civilian, passes on the road; some slows down to stare at us. It is like being caught in the middle of an alien religious ceremony – should one stand in silence, pray, move out, throw up? Half the one dunum area has been flattened – judging by the edges, heavy equipment was used. It is covered with a different kind of scrub. The surface soil is dusty. Here the stones are easily disturbed.. My stomach turns with thoughts of what could be beneath. Villagers say dozens of trucks deposited body bags here last summer. Thoughts turn instead to the press conference at which the existence of the site was revealed and the stern-faced Dutch woman snorting contemptuously at photos of another people's graves, breaking into English to complain at the time it all takes. Unmarked graves are clearly not news in Holland.

Away from all the other graves, half way up a slope at the back of the cemetery, a white plastic bag protrudes from the ground. A pole lies close by; the area around it does not look like a grave. Inside the bag, and here stomachs have to be kept in check, are the remains of a leather boot – and a foot. Now it is impossible to walk anywhere without the nagging question at the back of one's mind, how many more?

Those half forgotten stories return. The descriptions of the treatment meted out to prisoners at the Safa Fruit Factory, St Joseph's School...at Megiddo jail and the other unnamed jails. One last look at the new graves and we leave...What did happen last month in Ansar?

AL FAJR SUPPLEMENT

Al Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian weekly publishes a daily supplement of English translations of selected local news items published in the four Arabic dailies: Al Fajr, Al Shaab, Al Ittihad, and Al Quds. The translations, which will be of the same day's newspapers, will also include abridged versions of the editorials appearing in the four dailies. This news service by the Al Fajr (English) staff will reflect the same high standards of accuracy and quality of English translations as Al Fajr weekly.

The supplement – under the heading "The Jerusalem Dawn" – will be hand delivered daily, by lunch time, except on Sundays, to subscribers at the address they prefer.

A service charge of US $50 per month is requested for the subscription.

Cheques may be sent to Al Fajr newspaper, P.O. Box 19315, Jerusalem. For additional information, please ask at Al Fajr (English) offices, 2 Hatem Ta'ee Street, Jerusalem. Telephone: 281-035.

WEEKLY REVIEW

July 13, 1983

CASSANDRA

JERUSALEM — Communist Party MK Tawfiq Toubi told the Israeli Knesset that the continued refusal of the Israeli government to recognise the right of the Palestinian people to live not only in Hebron but in all other places where they may be found will drag the area into disaster.

"The aim of the Israeli government is to kick out the Palestinians. It is absolutely not interested in any sort of peaceful co-existence with them," he charged.

PRISON CLOSED

JERUSALEM — Relatives of Hamdi Wazwaz, a political prisoner condemned to life imprisonment in the Beer Sheba jail, heard tear gas grenades explode as they waited for the gates to open for the holiday family visit. Prison authorities promptly locked the gates, and ordered all visitors to leave immediately. No one was allowed to see the inmates. The prison authorities gave no explanation for their decision. Parents and relatives appealed to the International Red Cross, which promised to investigate the incident.

NEW AL FAJR DIRECTOR

JERUSALEM — Michael Assad Bahbah was appointed Financial and Administrative Director of the *Al Fajr* establishment. He will work at the *Al Fajr* Arabic offices.

RED CRESCENT AID TO CURFEWED

HEBRON — Hebron's Red Crescent Society has had to handle a sharply increased work load for the duration of the curfew imposed on the city. The Society kept its several clinics open during the emergency, with doctors on call 24-hours-a-day, even during the *Id al-Fitr* holidays. Ambulances were on hand to ferry seriously ill people to West Bank hospitals.

SOLIDARITY

JENIN — Members of the Israeli Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit University visited BZU faculty member Hassan Abu Libdeh, who has been placed under house arrest in Jenin.

NOT CONCERNED

RAMALLAH — Traffic accidents are on the increase along the Jerusalem-Ramallah highway. Several collisions resulted in serious injuries to a dozen passengers, primarily in head-on collisions.

Residents blame the accidents on the sewer repair work started by the al-Bireh municipal council almost two years ago. There has been no progress on the project by the Israeli-appointed military mayor since he replaced the dismissed municipality.

July 14, 1983

PRE–MEDITATED FIRE

HEBRON — Israeli police are investigating allegations that Jewish settlers had been planning to burn down the market in the Hebron qasbah long before yeshiva student Aharon Gross was murdered.

Some Israeli papers charge the arson that gutted the old marketplace in the city was premeditated and that it had no connection whatsoever with the death of Gross.

YOUTH ACTIVE IN DEHEISHEH

BETHLEHEM — The administrative council of the Youth Centre of the Dheisheh refugee camp, near Bethlehem, joined several other organisations in paying courtesy calls on the parents and families of residents who had been martyred or are in prison.

The council also distributed rations to several needy families. Among these are some shopowners whose businesses have been sealed by the Israeli military government.

Youth leaders also launched an information campaign denouncing the almost daily harrassment of the camp.

PERMANENT VISITORS?

JERUSALEM — According to eyewitness reports, a number of policemen and Israeli troops surrounded the house of Abu 'Akef Ja'ouni, a long time resident of the Old City. A short while later, large numbers of Jewish settlers arrived upon the scene, laden with furniture and personal belongings.

The settlers proceeded to clean up the place, before settling in.

The Arab residents in the house had reportedly received eviction notices from the Jerusalem Municipality, on the pretext that the house was unsafe and about to collapse at any moment.

July 15, 1983

CURFEW STILL ON

HEBRON — The curfew in Hebron is still in force and movement in the town has been paralysed.

PRISON UPRISING

JERUSALEM — According to reports from the jail, Palestinian inmates of the Beer Sheba jail held a protest, July 14. A prison warden was injured during the incident and had to be hospitalised.

OFFICERS TO TRIAL

JERUSALEM — The Israeli military prosecutor, General Dov Chaffee, intends to try two senior Israeli army officers on charges of mistreatment of Palestinian residents of the West Bank.

The two men, General Ya'acov Harkavi and Colonel Shalom Logassy, have been charged with carrying out systematic torture of Palestinians.

Harkavi was the former military commander of the West Bank. He is charged with issuing a set of orders to Israeli troops, giving them complete freedom to shoot up solar heaters, smash wrist watches, stop passers-by when the whim takes them, and pull people out of their homes and beat them. The military prosecutor has been handed a complete file on the two accused officers, including a recommendation to put them on trial for their misdeeds.

GUARD CLEAN UP

JERUSALEM — Israeli police authorities arrested a fourth prison guard at Ramleh on charges of drug trafficking. The man, who has not been identified, is also accused of passing information from Israeli underworld figures to prisoners undergoing trial on serious criminal charges. During the past three months, three prison guards were arrested in Ramleh on the same charges. One guard was also accused of passing a weapon to inmates.

PALESTINIANS FROM LEBANON

JERUSALEM — Nearly 1000 Palestinians from Lebanon are living illegally in Israel now. The Palestinians came here, following the invasion of Lebanon, to visit their relatives, according to Israeli estimates.

Normally, every visitor from Lebanon must fill out a form and apply for a one-week stay in Israel, but most of the visitors fail to return when their permits expire. Few bother to get them renewed. Many of the Palestinians have applied for family reunion.

July 16, 1983

CURFEW DAMAGE

HEBRON — Hebron's business community has incurred losses amounting to nearly IS700 million as a result of the curfew imposed by the Israeli military authorities on the city's vital commercial sector. Local and foreign financial experts said most of the losses were during the three-day period holiday period of the *Id al-Fitr* festivities.

The experts noted that if the curfew is not lifted soon, Hebron's business community will sue the military authorities at the Israeli Supreme Court and will demand compensation for their losses.

The city's market-place, which was gutted by Jewish settlers, has now been under curfew for nearly two weeks.

European volunteers and West Bankers, about to conclude several weeks cooperation in Ramallah work camp projects, relax with an evening of *dabkeh* dancing in East Jerusalem / JN

NO POLLS

JERUSALEM — The municipal election campaign got off to a shaky start in East Jerusalem.

Campaigners for Mayor Teddy Kollek have been actively promoting another term for him, but a great majority of Arab residents here have decided to boycott the elections set for October 25.

CHILD KILLED BY SETTLER CAR

JERUSALEM — A five-year-old Arab child died from injuries following a car accident involving an Israeli vehicle.

The child, Khomeini Ali Salim, of the village of Lower Beit Or, was knocked down on the main road next to the village.

EXAM MOVES

AMMAN — West Bank students enrolled at the Arab University of Beirut will be sitting for their examinations in the Jordanian capital this year. In view of the recent developments in Lebanon, it was decided to hold the examination sessions in Amman.

However, several West Bank students have been prevented from going to Jordan by travel restrictions imposed by the Jordanian authorities. The students have appealed the decision.

BAKRI TARGETTED

NAZARETH — Masked muggers broke into the home of a well known Palestinian communist, Ahmad Mustafa Bakri, last week and beat his 14-year-old son nearly unconscious. Bakri complained to police that the unidentified assailants broke into his house in Bi'na and ransacked it, after beating the child who was alone. The men, who were armed with knives and metal rods, ran away when they heard people coming. Police called to the scene said they would investigate, but did not show up again.

WHY NO ELECTIONS?

ACRE — The Supreme Court of Israel has issued an injunction against Police and Interior Minister Yosef Burg asking for the reasons that led him to issue an order cancelling local elections in the Galilee village of al-Baqi'ah, scheduled for October 25.

Al-Baqi'ah was one of five Galilee villages which were forbidden from participating in the forthcoming elections.

ARRESTED ON HOLIDAY

NAZARETH — Israeli police have arrested 49 Arab workers employed by the Eilat firm of Aronson. The workers, from the Galilee villages of Sakhnin, Arrabeh and Deir Hanna, were returning to work after the *Id al-Fitr* holidays when they were stopped by police at a roadblock at the entrance to town. Three hours later, the workers were set free; no explanations were offered.

SETTLEMENT EXPANSION

JERUSALEM — Israeli bulldozers have been plowing up the land belonging to Yusef Hababeh, in the Nebi Samuel area near the Jewish settlement of Ramot. Hababeh had obtained an injunction from the court ordering the immediate stoppage of work on his land pending a review of the case.

The Israeli land administration authorities claim the land belongs to the state and that it was expropriated in 1971 to help in the development of the Ramot settlement.

Hababeh says he has owned the land, planted with fruit and olive trees, since 1947. His crops are his sole means of livelihood and he estimates the damage caused by the bulldozers runs to thousands of Jordanian dinars.

July 17, 1983

EXPROPRIATION

BETHLEHEM — Residents of the West Bank village of Surif lodged a legal protest against the expropriation of some 10,000 dunums (2200 acres) of land by the military authorities. The land,which was taken over last April, belongs to two prominent families, the Tawayhehs and the Humeidats.

ISRAELIS ARRESTED

HEBRON — The Israeli military authorities arrested five members of the Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit University, on charges of attempting to hold an illegal demonstration in front of the military government headquarters in Hebron.

MOSQUE BREAK–IN

HEBRON - Three settlers from Kiryat Arba broke into the Khaled Ibn al-Walid Mosque near the settlement. The guard raised the alarm, and scores of Hebronites rushed to investigate. The settlers escaped.

CALL FOR PNC

AMMAN — Thirty-two members of the Palestine National Council currently residing in Amman have called for an urgent meeting of the council.

In a letter addressed to Council Chairman Khaled Fahoum and to PLO leader Yasir Arafat, the members urged them to convene a Council session as soon as possible.

POLICE ARSONED

BETHLEHEM — Arsonists burned down the Israeli police station in the Palestinian refugee camp of Dheisheh, near Bethlehem.

Police have launched an investigation into the incident, one of several such attempts made during the past few years.

SETTLERS ROAD THROUGH ARAB LAND

JENIN — Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer appealed to the Supreme Court of Israel for an injunction against the military government to halt the bulldozing of land in two West Bank villages, owned for generations by some 15 villagers.

Residents of Deir Abu Da'if and Qabatiya said the Israeli authorities began work on their land two weeks ago without giving the landowners any prior notification. They believe the Israelis are laying down a road across the land, leading to a nearby Jewish settlement.

July 18, 1983

BILLED FOR POISON

JERUSALEM — The Israeli police want the victims of the recent poisoning epidemic in the West Bank to pay for the emergency medical treatment they received.

The police have mailed batches of bills to the girl students from the village of Anabta, asking them to pay up to IS 8600 (about US$170) for their two-day stay in the hospital.

They have warned that if the former patients refuse to pay, they will be taken to court.

SUSPECTS RELEASED

HEBRON — The Israeli military authorities released five Kiryat Arba settlers who had been suspected of having set fire to the fruit and vegetable market (the qasbah) of Hebron. The settlers were held for two days, but were freed after questioning.

LICENSED VIGILANTES

HEBRON — Kiryat Arba and Hebron will soon have Israeli civil guards.

The religious Jewish movement, Tadeer, and Mossad plan to recruit Israeli guards for duty in the settlement and the Arab town, in coordination with Israeli settlers in the two locations.

The new unit will be known as 'Volunteers for Hebron.'

WOMAN SHOT

NABLUS — A 45-year-old woman, Fatima Mohammad Ibrahim Suleiman, from the village of Mardah, in the Nablus region, was admitted to Rafidiya Hospital for gunshot wounds in the leg.

PUSHING INTO THE GALILEE

NAZARETH — The Israeli government is preparing a plan to populate the Arab village of al-Baqi'ah, in the Galilee, with a core of Israeli settlers.

"An attempt will be made to restore Jewish presence in the village," reports said.

Some private Arab residencies have already been bought and several Jewish families mobilised to live there.

YOUTH

HEBRON — The Israeli Department of Social Affairs struck out the names of four women from the list of members of the Hebron Youth Centre's administrative board.

The department had earlier approved the list submitted to it. The women are: Bushra al-Hashmalon, Hana al-Tumeiri, I'tidal Abu Hamdiyeh and Faridah Maraqa. The military government gave the Youth Centre a month within which to hold elections for new members to replace the four, despite the fact that the administrative board can function effectively without them.

45 BANNED

TULKARM — The West Bank education department of the military government has placed another 45 books, most of them by Arab writers dealing with Middle East political issues, on their blacklist.

The books will now be banned from circulation in the West Bank. They include critical studies of the objectives of Zionism, Vatican ties with Israel and the Arabs, anti-Islamic currents, Palestinian poetry anthologies, the Egyptian uprising, and the role of religion in the Arab state.

July 19, 1983

LAND GRAB

RAMALLAH — The Israeli custodian of absentee property in Ramallah notified the mukhtar of Arourah village of a decision to expropriate 350 dunums of land belonging to the village.

PRISONERS

JERUSALEM — Prisoners in Beer Sheba prison are still on strike, begun on the three-day *Id al-Fitr* feast, to protest the authorities' refusal to allow their relatives to visit them. They said they are being denied basic rights: radios are banned and reading material is confiscated; the food served is substandard.

Palestinian women held in Neve Tertza jail are standing fast in their refusal to serve in the kitchen. The women have been calling for improvements in their living conditions. They say medical treatment is almost non-existent and complain of improper food. The women say they are allowed visitors only once every two months and are being kept in cells all day long except for brief interludes. They may not listen to the radio nor have any reading material in their possession.

MOVING TO OCCUPIED TERRITORY

JERUSALEM — The Israeli Labour Federation (Histadrut) has been given 22 dunums of Jerusalem land for the express purpose of transferring its Tel Aviv headquarters to the city. The Israel Land Administration said it is ready to allocate Jerusalem land to any Israeli institution which wants to set up there.

MK INITIATIVES

JERUSALEM — Israeli Knesset members Imry Ron and Yossi Sarid urged the Israeli government to make a special effort to facilitate Jordan's participation in Middle East talks. Sarid is demanding an immediate freeze in settlement activity in order to encourage Hussein.

SETTLERS' HOTEL

NABLUS — The Israeli government has confiscated almost half of the land belonging to Haris village (land was previously taken from the village to set up Elkana settlement) in order to build a hotel and shopping complex to serve Israeli settlers in the area.

Um George's grocery store in East Jerusalem was robbed and torched by unknown criminals on July 14. The crime is similar to that committed against the Sahhar Grocery, three weeks ago, and three previous incidents of arson in Jerusalem. /JN

RED LIGHT

JERICHO — Israeli border officials stopped members of two Arab families from crossing the Allenby Bridge into the West Bank.

The officials claimed members of one family, who held US passports, were carrying PLO 'propaganda material,' while the others were Saudi Arabian nationals.

WORKERS DISMISSED EN MASSE

NAZARETH — Nearly one-third of the work force of the Israeli Model Beton (concrete) firm, most of them Arabs, have been dismissed as a result of reduced demand for the company's products, directors said. Some of the employees have been with the firm for over ten years.

REVENGE FIRE

TULKARM — Owners of a carpentry shop in Qalqiliya said the recent fire which gutted the place had been started by Israeli settlers from Kornei Shomron.

Carpentry shop owner Nizar Arbas told police he had been threatened by the settlers for taking them to court, and that he had supplied the police with their names.

CHARITY VISIT

HEBRON — Members of the Union of Charitable Societies in Hebron paid a visit to West Bank Palestinians being held in the Hebron prison. The delegation, headed by Chairman Sa'ed al-Nazer, presented prisoners with sweets for the Muslim feast.

CAMP COMPLAINTS

BETHLEHEM — Dheisheh camp youth centre complained that they have been unable to meet with UNRWA's director general to discuss conditions in the camp. They also want to ascertain UNWRA's position on the Israeli plan to resettle refugees outside camps.

BEAT UP

JERUSALEM — Unidentified assailants beat up a West Bank villager from al-'Izbah, near Anabtah, while he was in his fields. Abdul Latif Abu Ikhmeish was admitted to hospital with face and arm injuries.

ARSON

JERUSALEM — Unknown assailants set fire to the Women's Work Centre and the youth club in the village of Bidou. Residents denounced the action in the local papers.

ILLEGAL DISMISSAL

NAZARETH - The dismissal of 45 Arab workers employed by the Model Beton concrete firm was illegal, according to legal experts of the Democratic Front. The Front has demanded an explanation from the Histadrut for the action. The Histadrut had previously indicated it would not allow construction firms to dismiss any workers, despite the slowdown in the industry.

NEW HARASSMENT IN HEBRON

HEBRON — The military-appointed mayor Zamir Shemesh, replacement for dismissed Mayor Mustafa Natshe, has taken immediate steps to curtail all vital services being supplied to several Hebron area villages, including two Palestinian camps, Arroub and Fawwar. Water and electricity are being cut with the aid of Kiryat Arba settlers.

NEW COLLEGE

HEBRON — Hebron University will inaugurate its first science faculty next semester, dedicated to agronomy. It will be the first such college in the West Bank.

ANSAR – THE CURSE

by Michael Garti
Haaretz

"Ansar is a cursed place. No, no, it is not a cursed place. Ansar itself is a curse." Later on, one reserve soldier who had served in the camp for more than two months told me, "Ansar is a disgusting place. Disgusting to visit and more disgusting to live in." One senior commander in a nearby command post said that the 5000 prisoners in the camp, or the 'detained' as they are called in military legalistic parlance, are enclosed in one place and are rubbing against each other, while the uncertainty about their future moves them from hope of being freed in the near future to despair. "This is the heart of the problem. They can complain about food, or ask for one more blanket, or resist; but beyond all this, they have the desire to leave."

Five thousand prisoners destined to live behind wire fences for an undefined period; 5000 men strolling around doing nothing among the improvised tents – it is true that they have organised classes for learning various subjects from languages to wrestling – but this is no alternative to freedom. Here and there, someone writes a book, and another carves with a knife made from food tins. But the misery of imprisonment changes people. One officer noted, "And he who wasn't a 'terrorist' when he first entered here, will leave the place a 'terrorist.' " Anyone who knows about Ansar will agree with the officer on that. Here in Ansar, an Ansar unit of the PLO is being created.

The solution to the prisoners' problem is part of the curse. The camp is very big, and the way it is set up makes it difficult for the prisoners and their guards.

One senior officer commented, "If we had known when the camp was being planned that we were going to stay more than two or three months, we would have planned 10 smaller camps in which the pressure would not have been as great as it is in one big camp; and if we are going to stay for a longer time, we may still do that."

Self-restraint and Control

Once there were rows of big military tents in each of which stood a heating stove for the winter. The tents were razed one by one, June 6, on the first anniversary of the war. "We stood on the roof of the building and watched them burning the tents. One soldier from the storage unit who stood next to me shouted after every tent was burned, 'One million more!' "

On the morning of June 7, Ansar B was covered with black spots - the remains of the burned tents - and the disturbances died down. But then Ansar A started its disturbances (sic), and again, tents were burned one by one. In these two disturbances, the prisoners refrained from burning the kitchen tent and the clinic, and did not damage the tin toilet huts. Some of them even kept the tent pegs. So, on the next day, new lean-tos filled the place.

The tent burning was the climax of a chain of disturbances in Ansar which tested the new policy the Israeli army has been following for the last few months. Under this policy, the prisoners manage their lives and force is to be used only as a last resort - but not shooting, which is to be used only when the prisoner crosses the 'white line', or when a soldier's life is endangered. During the tent burning, a large number of troops were outside the fences, waiting for orders to attack the camp. But they did not interfere. The only thing that Israeli army authorities did was try to persuade the rebels to stop their activities. One senior officer said, "We didn't provide new tents to replace those which were burned, and we will not provide them until they promise not to burn them in the future.

"The self-restraint and control policy is designed to prevent escalation. Common disturbances are stone-throwing at soldiers and slogan shouting. Such a thing can happen as a response to our actions. When we dispersed (sic) Compound No. 30, immediately afterwards the other compounds started throwing stones and burning things, and four military policemen were wounded. We didn't respond to the stone-throwing, but we were determined to break up the disturbance.

"When a border police sergeant walked along one of the paths, we heard them saying, 'Let Captain Moti cross the road.' But three seconds later, they continued throwing stones.

Cases of Disturbances

In the last few months, there have been two shooting incidents. In one of them a magazine was fired from a soldier's machine gun (sic), and eight prisoners were wounded. In the second incident, soldiers opened fire when their lives were in danger after insurgents broke through a fence. The soldiers shot only after they had fired a warning shot in the air, and in this case, one prisoner was killed. One senior officer told me, "We had many justified, legal reasons to shoot, but we succeeded in not doing so, thanks to our self-discipline." And he added, "If you have to shoot, it is a sign of losing the game, according to the rules of this game, which were agreed upon between the two sides."

The self-restraint and non-use of power, if it is possible, is accompanied by a policy of autonomous management of the camp by the prisoners. "At the beginning, there was an attempt to place the management of the camp in the hands of the 'mukhtars', but we discovered that the status of the 'mukhtars' who were appointed by us was lower than the status of the real leaders of the prisoners. And without our interference, the 'committee' was created, headed by Saleh Tamari, the head of the youth organisation of Fatah. The members were a physician, a lawyer, and commanders in the different organisations. They managed the life of the camp and mediated between the prisoners and the army. But the committee was dispersed after it became too extreme.

"This decision held for only a few days, however, because it became clear that the prisoners obey Tamari's orders. When there was the impression that negotiations about exchange of prisoners were taking place, the camp was quiet. But when it became clear that there was no progress in these negotiations, the disturbances started again." The first incidents started over the issue of counting the prisoners. Every day the army made an exact count of the prisoners. Here and there, soldiers who came to count the prisoners found them still in their tents, and when they were called to come out for the count, they started with their demands, such as getting more food. Usually these incidents were solved after a talk with the mukhtars."

The Committee is Renewed

But on June 5, the disturbances reached a new climax. Tents were burned, various objects were thrown. The prisoners demanded a renewal of the activity of the committee. The disturbances continued until June 12. A prisoner was killed when he attempted to escape. Those who tried to escape with him brought his dead body to the compound and would not give it to the guards. The negotiations were stormy, and it seemed that only the use of force would solve the problem. But later on, the prisoners' demand to talk to the International Committee of the Red Cross officials was accepted, and they handed over the body after a military ceremony. Later it was sent to Syria.

The 5000 prisoners in the camp are enclosed in one place and are rubbing against one another, while the uncertainty about their future moves them from the hope of being freed to despair.

Anyone who thought that the incident was over was mistaken. Toward evening, the prisoners started burning blankets dipped in cooking oil. Smoke covered the camp, and the smell was unbearable. On the same night, Israeli army soldiers who were outside the camp noticed suspicious activities. And they shot, not far from one of the nearby villages. As a result of the shooting, other forces were called and two hours later, the commander of the military police came in by helicopter. (All this spread the rumour that many prisoners had escaped from the camp.) This incident continued until dawn. After all these disturbances, the committee was allowed to renew its activities, with slight amendments.

The committee brings the needs of the prisoners to the Israeli army and manages camp life. This releases the army from dealing with such issues as bread, water and electricity. One officer told me, "I don't deal any more with issues like dental treatment for Ahmad, or the sack of lentils, or stationary, or soup ladles. Now these things are within the committee's tasks." The committee deals with varied issues, like the incident in which three prisoners were asked to leave the tents, and they objected to it. But the problem which was about to develop into a violent incident was solved after the interference of the committee. The demand of the Israeli army was accepted, while the dignity of the committee and the prisoners was preserved.

The Red Cross has permanent representatives in the camp. On a daily basis, they take care of different issues. From a legal point of view, the camp is a civilian prisoners' camp in an occupied territory, and is therefore subject to the IV Geneva Convention. The Red Cross officials deal with correspondence, medical treatment (medical services include a dental clinic, and one run by a physician from among the prisoners, assisted by an Israeli army physician), and unusual issues. For instance, once they had to deal with a prisoner who was hysterical. "He was very hysterical, and it took a long time to calm him. We gave him water and first aid. Later on we discovered that he had learned from a new prisoner that his young son was kidnapped from Ain al-Hilweh by the Phalangists. We asked the Red Cross to check into what had happened to his son and they visited his family and found that his son was healthy and living with his family – they even brought a letter from the family."

The management of the camp by its leaders and the permanent presence of the Red Cross doesn't prevent tension and disturbances. One officer told me, "Even when we give them dried dates for Ramadan, as Saleh asked us to, or when we give them *Al Anba* newspaper (the Israeli government Arabic organ -ed.) and let them listen to the (Israeli) evening Arabic news, what they really want is freedom, which can be attained only after a prisoner exchange."

Meanwhile, the prisoners are busy strengthening their personal status in the organisation to which they belong. In addition to the radio broadcasts which they get through the loudspeakers in the camp, the prisoners issue a news service. It seems that they hide transistors and listen to the PLO radio *(Sawt al-Filastin)* and to the Lebanese radio.

"They try to make it difficult for us, so that we may look for ways to get rid of this trouble," the senior officer added. "We have to make it clear to them that no pressure tactics will move us from our position."

Everybody in Ansar - prisoners, soldiers, and officers - has in the back of their minds the Israeli military prisoners who are in the hands of the Palestinians. The officer added, "Communication is easy, starting with letters via the Red Cross, or information which they get from released prisoners. In Damascus, they know what happens here within 24 hours at the most, and we believe that there is a direct connection between the situation of our prisoners and the Ansar prisoners."

If we are to believe the information coming from Geneva, the negotiations are going very slowly. The Red Cross acts in a very discreet way, and doesn't release information, except for short communiques about their visits. It seems that only a prisoner exchange (which Israel announced it was ready to agree to) will stop the curse of Ansar.

One senior officer said, "On the day we exchange prisoners, I volunteer to burn everything remaining here."